THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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1804 – SESQUI-CENTENNIAL – 1954

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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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REWARDS
Old Santeclaus with much delight
His reindeer drives this frosty night,
O'er chimneytops, and tracks of snow,
To bring his yearly gifts to you.

EARLIEST KNOWN REFERENCE TO SANTA WITH REINDEER

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THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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VOLUME XXXVIII NUMBER FOUR

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KNICKERBOCKER SANTA CLAUS

by CHARLES W. JONES*

ACCORDING to the consensus of informed historians,[1] the cult of St. Nicholas was, before the Reformation, the most intensive of any nonbiblical saint in Christendom. For example, according to Meisen's census there were 2,137 ecclesiastical dedications to Nicholas in France, Germany, and the Low Countries alone before the year 1500. Yet Professor Börsting has pointed out the incompleteness of these figures by indicating

* Dr. Jones, Professor of English at the University of California (formerly at Cornell University), delivered an address which forms the basis for the present article at the Society's St. Nicholas Day celebration, December 4, 1953.

[1] Of reliable books written on aspects of the European cult, unfortunately none is in English, unless we count an excellent dissertation by Dr. Otto Albrecht, *Four Latin Plays of St. Nicholas,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935. Of the many valuable Continental works, I mention only the scholarly edition of early Greek lives by Gustav Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos,* 2 vols., Leipzig, 1913–1917; the popular French work by Eugène Marin, *Saint Nicolas,* 2d ed., Paris, 1930; and the monumental study of Karl Meisen, *Nikolauskult und Nikolausbrauch im Abendlande,* Düsseldorf, 1931, which contains plates of more than two hundred representations from the plastic arts, most judiciously selected. The Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* does not include Nicholas because that edition has not yet reached December 6.

how, in the single diocese of Münster, there were fifty dedications, not eight, as Meisen calculated. According to Bond, there are 204 dedications to St. George in the England he patronizes; but there are 446 to St. Nicholas. Church dedications are only a single measure, hardly a gauge of Nicholas's popularity, since his cult was more than most disparaged by the clergy because his appeal was primarily secular, mercantile, and thaumaturgic.

The popularity and abuse of such an image helped to bring the Reformation to a head. The Reformation was an age of violence. The reformers tried violently by prayer, force, law, and scorn to erase St. Nicholas from our minds; and in this the counter-reformers agreed with them. Though the reformers and counter-reformers bled St. Nicholas, he has lived on in all parts of Europe. The cults are local—just such customs as escape the eyes of kings and prelates, teachers and poets. In Wales and Crete, he is invoked by fishermen. In Southampton and Tripoli he guards sailors and merchants. In Russia, he still protects communists from wolves. In Poland and France he brings husbands and babies. In Aberdeen and Bologna he gives passing marks to college students.

But in the main, his place of safety is among children. Children will outwit reformers every time—all except those well-behaved English children. English children were taught to forget all about St. Nicholas; recently their American cousins have reintroduced him to the English family. But on the Continent, St. Nicholas continued to hide his nuts and apples in the shoes beside the bed from the Middle Ages to this year 1954; some of these customs are five hundred to a thousand years old. Sometimes Nicholas had to disguise himself pretty effectively—as Père Noel, the Weihnachtsmann, Knecht Ruprecht, Kris Kringle, and the like. Where reformers were especially active, his appearance shifted from his own day, December 6th, to some acceptable holiday or feast like Christmas, Innocents Day, New Year, or Epiphany.

We should expect so popular an image to be brought to America, and it was—before the Reformation. The cathedral of

the Vikings in Greenland was dedicated to St. Nicholas; Columbus on his first voyage named a port in Haiti for St. Nicholas; and the Spaniards called what is now Jacksonville, Florida, St. Nicholas Ferry. But the colonizing of America and the Reformation concurred, and the American colonists were preponderantly reformers.

Individual European emigrants have continuously imported Nicholas customs. In ethnic groups before they are absorbed into our culture, these customs may be community-wide and may last for a generation or two. For instance, in Buffalo and like places where there was a heavy concentration of Germans who immigrated around 1840, St. Nicholas would call at each home on Nicholas Eve, December 5th, to take orders for presents to be delivered on Christmas. The custom lasted for sixty years or so, but has now, I believe, disappeared. In the Dutch communities of Michigan and Iowa, St. Nicholas used to call with oranges and switches on December 6th. Among the Germans of Pennsylvania, a conservative ethnic group, Kris Kringle (a corruption of *Christ Kindlein*) and Pelznichol (that is, Furry Nicholas) were imported in the eighteenth century and still leave traces. In my town of Ithaca, N.Y., a family which immigrated from Vienna only five years ago invited me to their songs, games, and gifts on Nicholas Eve—all a very recent importation from Austria. As soon as the children of the family grow a bit older, the customs will probably disappear. Such holdover customs of the old country die here—quickly, if the group is quickly assimilated; more slowly if, like the Pennsylvania Germans, they resist the melting pot. Like tuberculosis germs, Nicholas customs are always coming into our social body. But germination does not become virulent unless a unique set of conditions and a unique set of men change a latent infection into a plague.

Santa Claus has certainly reached plague proportions now. This year, there will be about seven thousand emaciated little men, padded out with pillows and other stuffing, bad-fitting

cotton beards (washable, fireproof nylon beards and wigs for Santa Clauses cost $24.95 at Gimbels), red cheese-cloth, and black oilcloth boots, ringing bells at seven thousand corners of these United States, distracting citizens and cutting down on the capital goods production of the country. In New York City there are, or recently have been, three schools solely for the training of Santa Clauses; these Gotham schools are imitated in other major cities. Macy's parade now has counterparts from coast to coast—even in my upstate town of 20,000 people. The postoffice at Santa Claus, Indiana (established 1852, population still less than 100), handles nearly four million pieces of mail yearly, and even in midsummer is a tourists' paradise. North Pole, in the Adirondacks, has been a recent commercial success, as the incidence of gaudy signs on car bumpers testifies.

According to May Lamberton Becker in the *Herald Tribune*, sixty new books specifically about Christmas were published in 1952. Six had Santa Claus as their theme. The Library of Congress lists, for the single year 1947 alone, twenty-two new songs with Santa Claus as the first word in the song (I have no way of knowing how many more songs had the name somewhere in them). According to Tin Pan Alley that year: Santa Claus is Due; Santa Claus Has Moved to Indiana; Santa Claus for President; Santa's on His Way; Santa, Dear Santa; and Santa Drives Again. This number does not include St. Nicholas; for instance, in that year 1947, Benjamin Britton composed his cantata, *St. Nicholas*.

Now that the Republicans are in, the cartoonists have had to hunt for a new idea; before the last Presidential election, Santa Claus threatened to displace Uncle Sam as the national symbol. But he is not losing ground: In New York City we have St. Nicholas Cathedral and, until recently, The Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas. We also have St. Nicholas Avenue and St. Nicholas Arena, not to mention the beauty shop, drug store, etc., quite irreverently dedicated to the saint. The St. Nicholas over the door to the Baptistry at St. John the Divine is our saint. The

St. Nicholas Society and the St. Nicholas Club wear their dedications in their titles; but The New-York Historical Society observes St. Nicholas Day by listening to a lecture or other entertainment, then eating traditional Dutch goodies spread out on long tables in one of their galleries, while The Holland Society, The Long Island Historical, and the Knickerbocker Society show their devotion in their own several ways.

Now this is plague indeed. We are running a high fever from Santa Claus. Ours is not the European saint, but an American commodity, which we have exported to the whole world. In 1939, a nation-wide broadcast began: "W. L. White, speaking to you from Finland, the country where our legend of Santa Claus and his reindeer first began." But the Finnish Santa Claus, with reindeer, was an American export.

There is a popular explanation, which is about as accurate as most explanations of plagues—a legend which is repeated yearly in those Christmas books which blossom with the poinsettias. The legend has been essentially static for a century. It is most clearly and simply stated in Mary L. Booth's *History of the City of New York* (pages 192–195), published in 1859:

> The Dutch had five national festivals which were observed throughout the city; namely, Kerstrydt (Christmas); Nieuw jar (New Year); Paas (the Passover); Pinxter (Whitsuntide); and Santa Claus (St. Nicholas or Christ-kinkle day) . . . . But Santa Claus day was the best day of all in the estimation of the little folks, who, of all others, enjoy holidays the most intensely. It is notable, too, for having been the day sacred to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of New York, who presided at the figure-head of the first emigrant ship that touched her shores, who gave his name to the first church erected within her walls, and who has ever since been regarded as having especial charge of the destinies of his favorite city. To the children, he was a jolly, rosy-cheeked little old man, with a low-crowned hat, a pair of Flemish trunk-hose, and a pipe of immense length, who drove his reindeer sleigh loaded with gifts from the frozen regions of the North over the roofs of New Amsterdam for the benefit of good children. Models of propriety were they for a week preceding the eventful Christmas eve. When it came, they hung their stockings, carefully labelled, that the Saint might make no mistakes, in the chimney corner, and went early to bed, chanting the Santa Claus

hymn, in addition to their usual devotions. *[Miss Booth then transcribes Pintard's Historical Society verses, which I shall discuss later.]* . . . These rhymes, Mr. Valentine tells us, continued to be sung among the children of the ancient Dutch families as late as the year 1851. But the custom is passing away, and the Christmas gifts are now given prosaically without legend or tradition. *[Among devotees, Santa Claus seems always to be disappearing.]*

Nearly everyone repeats this story. Mrs. Van Rensselaer[2] repeated it, and from her Stokes[3] picked it up. Some of it creeps into the latest doctoral dissertation on New Netherland.[4] But when we look at the evidence—that is, the newspapers, magazines, diaries, books, broadsides, music, sculpture, and merchandise of past times, the picture is not substantiated. Miss Booth seems to be correct in only one essential; that is, that our cult of Santa Claus spread from here in New York.

But there is no evidence that it existed in New Amsterdam, or for a century after English occupation. To use Dr. Edgar F. Romig's phrase, the Dutch were hagiophobic to a preëminent degree. New Amsterdam was controlled by the Reformation government of Holland. Meisen[5] transcribes a few of many laws passed against St. Nicholas by that government. I quote but a part of one ordinance, from Amsterdam:

> Since the magistrates *[*of Amsterdam*]* have learned that in previous years, notwithstanding the publishing of the Bylaws, on St. Nicholas Eve various persons have been standing on the Dam and other places in this town with candy, eatables, and other merchandise, so that a large crowd from all over town gathered, . . . the same magistrates, to prevent all such disorders and to take the superstition and fables of the papacy out of the youths' heads, have ordered, regulated, and opined that on St. Nicholas Eve no persons, whoever they may be, are to be allowed on the Dam or any other places and streets within this town with any kind of

[2] Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, *History of New York City in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1909), II, 151–2.

[3] I. N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, index, *S. V.*

[4] E. L. Raesly, *Portrait of New Netherland*, New York: 1945. An exception is the excellent dissertation of K. Richards, *How Christmas Came to the Sunday Schools*, 1934, who, p. 52, expresses doubt about the New Amsterdam origin of Santa Claus.

[5] Karl Meisen, *op. cit.*, chapter II.

andy, eatables, or other merchandise . . . [under penalty of very severe ines].

Of course, the very presence of such laws shows that St. Nicholas was lurking underground, like Karl Marx, and that he Dutch feared subversion. But if the citizens of New Netherand had defied the laws of their country by giving aid and solace o the enemy, wouldn't some record of the treason appear? None s known.'

I have not found evidence of St. Nicholas in any form—in uveniles or periodicals or diaries—in the period of Dutch rule, or straight through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to he year 1773. It is possible that evidence to substantiate this egend exists somewhere. I only say that it has not yet been cited, and that I and those who have graciously assisted me have searched more specifically for it than have, for instance, H. L. Mencken for his *American Language* and the editors of the *Dictionary of American English*, who also found nothing.

The first evidence is an item in *Rivington's Gazetteer* for December 23, 1773:

> Last Monday the anniversary of St. Nicholas, otherwise called Santa Claus, was celebrated at Protestant Hall, at Mr. Waldron's; where a great number of sons of that ancient saint celebrated the day with great joy and festivity.

Another notice appeared in 1774. Then no other mention of St. Nicholas until 1793, long after the Revolution.

These two items, though well known and discussed for the past hundred years, have never been explained, although many have commented that those Sons of St. Nicholas did not seem to know their father's birthday—putting it on December 20th one year and December 12th the next. But the items can be explained.

In the year 1756, local Scots formed the St. Andrew's Society, a benevolent and social organization, patterned upon similar societies in Boston and Charleston. Under the leadership of Philip Livingston, signer of the Declaration of Independence, it num-

bered many patriots; but in the pre-Revolutionary heat following the Stamp Act in 1765, it became somewhat Tory. For instance, in the year 1773, its president was Lord Drummond.

The success of this society led to the establishment of parallel societies for the other three British nations: St. David's for the Welsh, St. Patrick's for the Irish, and St. George's for the English. According to Weyman's *New York Gazette*, April 13, 1761, "The anniversary feast of St. George is to be held" at the House of James Elliott, at Corlear's Hook. In 1762, according to the *New York Mercury:*

> On this day, the Anniversary of St. George, his Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst, gave a ball to the Ladies and Gentlemen of this City, at Crawley's New Assembly Room. The Company consisted of 96 ladies, and as many Gentlemen, all very richly dressed, and 'tis said the Entertainment was the most elegant ever seen in America.

The most elegant up to 1762, that is. From then on, St. George's parties grew more lavish and officialdom more irritating to the patriots, especially to underprivileged patriots.

They reacted as patriots do. Of the variety of reactions, I describe only one—The Sons of St. Tammany. By 1771, the Sons of St. Tammany were meeting in Philadelphia and Annapolis. It is specifically stated that these meetings were intended to counteract St. George and the other British saints. The patriots had, derisively, canonized a non-British, native American as their patron, and observed his Day on May 1st each year. Tammany had started out King Tammany, in opposition to King George; but in 1771 it had become St. Tammany, in opposition to St. George.

New York was a different government from Pennsylvania. New Yorkers might borrow an attractive idea from their neighbors, but they would stamp it with their own trade-mark. The same sardonic humor that led Philadelphians to sanctify a misty Delaware chieftain made New York patriots look about for a proletarian local equivalent, antipathetic to the opprobrious British symbol.

Now St. Nicholas in the eighteenth century was no longer anathema to reformers, as he had been in the seventeenth. Even before the end of the seventeenth century, Jan Steen and other northern painters were creating their lovable scenes of St. Nicholas Eve. Unlike England, the Continent had learned to tolerate its children's idols.

There is no evidence that St. Nicholas suggested Holland to the New York patriots; for a century, ever since the Whig revolt in England, Holland was increasingly cut off from the Colonies, and as Hanover replaced Orange on the English throne the Dutch, if noticed at all, were not noticed with favor. When New Yorkers resurrected St. Nicholas, they did so because he was anti-British, not because he was pro-Dutch; and he was not to be taken seriously.

We know that throughout the eighteenth century New Year Day was an indigenous New York holiday, talked about in Boston and Philadelphia as belonging to New York. Gift-giving on that day was a custom of merchants; "the bakers' dozen" was limited to that day. As early as 1680, Charles Wolley wrote: "The English observed one custom, and that without superstition, I mean the *strenarum commercium*, as Suetonius calls them, a neighbourly commerce of presents every New-Years day." Note that he thought the custom English, not Dutch. On New Year Day all families of standing served brandy and imported cookies, made by the best Continental bakers. There are many later records to the effect that these were St. Nicholas cookies, and the calendar and habits of the time make the statements tenable.[8] Such cookies might have been baked at almost any center on the Continent.

[8] "In old times S^{t} Class used to cross the Atlantic & brought immense supplies of cookies &c. from Amsterdam . . ."—John Pintard to his daughter Mary, 21 Jan. 1819 (ed. Barck I, 164). Throughout the Germanic and Gallic world St. Nicholas was the most famous name in cookies at that time. Even today Nicholas cookies are sold from Vienna to Ghent, and the bakers advertise that they are made in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century molds. Moreover, Nicholas Eve, for which the cookies were baked in advance, was, according to the English and Colonial calendar November 24th, not December 5th, as it was on the Continent. England and America adopted the New Style in 1752.

We cannot know whether these cookies gave the patriots their idea. They might have gotten it from any one of those germinal ideas of emigrants which were brought to America to die. What we can assert with surety is that New York patriots formed a local society and dedicated it to St. Nicholas as a New York symbol, just as Philadelphians sanctified Tammany— all because of St. George.

I emphasize that there is a good chance that these patriots never had Holland in mind at all. Until the Revolution broke out, Holland was forgotten in New York. Irving could say with fairness that until he published his *Knickerbocker History* in 1809, few citizens knew "that New York had ever been called New Amsterdam or had heard of the names of its Dutch governors or cared a straw about their ancient Dutch progenitors." The best estimates indicate that in this period the number of Dutch in the Colonies did not noticeably outnumber French, Flemish, Walloons, or Swedes, and were outnumbered by Germans—all of whom together constituted but ten per cent of the population. John Pintard, according to the evidence the next to invoke St. Nicholas, was a Huguenot.

And by the way, *Santa Claus* is not a characteristically Dutch corruption. The place it has survived from early times is Switzerland and southern Germany. Both *Nick* and *Claus* are natural phonetic changes. *Santa* is a Teutonic form, a phonetic change from *Sanct Herr*. The most common Dutch form now, and then, is the analogous *Sinterklaes*.

This, then, is our best current knowledge about the Sons of St. Nicholas in the years 1773 and 1774.

Then came the Revolution. St. George took over New York with the Redcoats, and Nicholas retired to the cookie crock. From Philadelphia, St. Tammany exercised his patronage wherever the patriot armies moved—even in the Jersey marshes. The hagiolatry stirred up by revolutionary temper made popular a whole cycle of saints. For instance, here are the first two of 22 stanzas of a song composed by Leacock, first presented on the Philadelphia stage in 1776:

Of St. George, or St. Bute, let the poet laureate sing,
Of Pharoah or Pluto of old,
While he rhimes forth their praise, in false, flattering lays,
I'll sing of St. Tamm'ny the bold, my brave boys.

Let Hibernia's sons boast, make Patrick their toast,
And Scots Andrew's fame spread abroad,
Potatoes and oats, and Welsh leeks for welsh goats,
Was never St. Tammany's food, my brave boys.

There were many such songs. The authors ransacked history and legend for patron saints. "E'en the poor Negro will a while resign/His furrows, to adorn Saint Quaco's shrine . . ." (1788). In this period Antonie's Nose, up the Hudson, is first referred to as St. Anthony's Nose. But no Santa Claus. He had not yet attained the stature of even a local symbol. If the legend were true, that Nicholas was the patron of New Amsterdam, he would certainly have appeared in these songs and similar popular comment.

We come now to the founder of this Society, John Pintard —that singular mixture of heterogeneous particles, as Hazard called him.[7] In the immediate post-Revolutionary era, he led innumerable new movements: in the Marine Society; in founding the historical societies of this country, starting with Massachusetts; in the first insurance company, the first savings bank; in the American Bible Society, and the General Theological Seminary; in the New York Common Council and in the State Assembly; in the Louisiana Purchase and the Erie Canal. He was a great patriot and a staunch Jeffersonian.

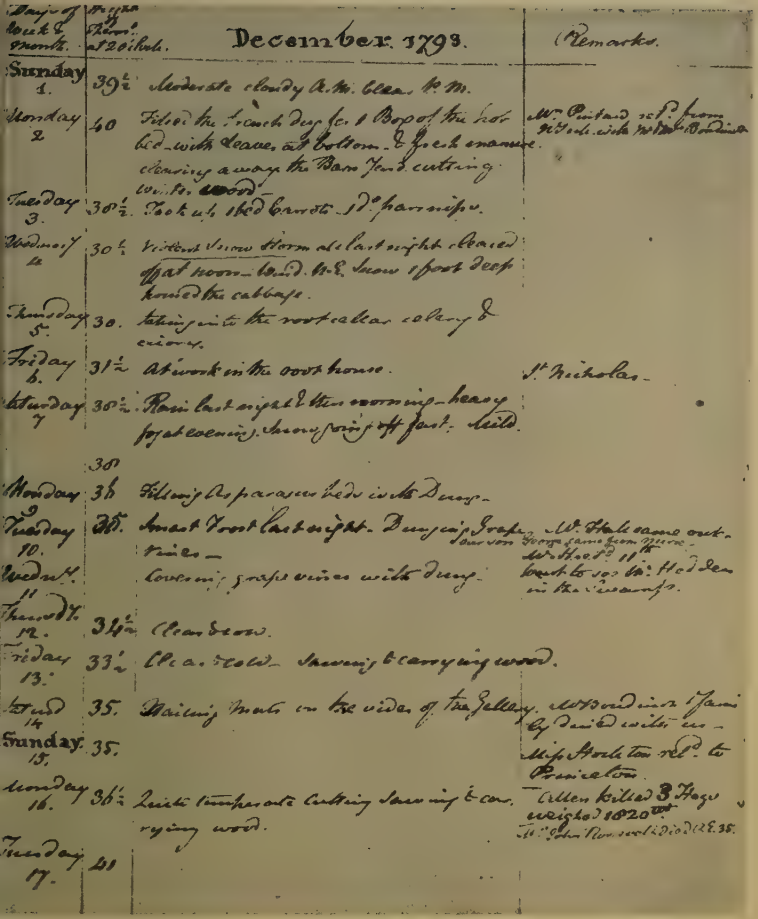
I said that St. Tammany appeared in the Jersey marshes. Who should be there, founding the New Jersey Society of the Sons of St. Tammany, No. 1, but John Pintard. Kilroe, the most ardent student of Tammany, gives Pintard primary credit, not only for founding this New Jersey chapter, but also for nationalizing the Tammany societies, and for establishing the one here in New York. At all events, John Pintard wrote the Constitution and became Sagamore of the Society here.

[7] *Belknap Papers*, II, 162.

He is an early Gothic revivalist. Patron saints run through his mind in connection with politics and commerce. These are the days, in 1789 to 1793, when his patriotism leads him to search for American history and antiquities; when he inspires Belknap to found the Massachusetts Historical; and when, blocked from founding a society in New York, he "engrafts" it, as he himself writes, onto his Society of St. Tammany. That somewhat rowdy group of patriots was interested in regalia and picnics, not museums; but under Pintard's reign, they established the Tammany Museum of American Antiquities. That museum formed a pattern for this Society. When Tammany took a path uncongenial to him, Pintard founded The New-York Historical Society and transmuted his favorite ideas, including the idea of a museum and of a patron saint.

St. Nicholas was running around in Pintard's mind. The first appearance of the saint's name after the Revolution is in an almanac which Pintard created for himself in 1793. Then in a diary for 1797 he marks December 6th "Thanksgiving." Although almanacs were published in this country throughout the eighteenth century, and they include the saints of the Anglican prayer-book and even St. George, St. Patrick, St. David, and St. Lawrence, no one of the many includes St. Nicholas.[8] Yet here he is, in Pintard's private almanac of 1793, the only saint in his calendar, alongside Christmas, New Year, Easter, and Whitsuntide; but also alongside Independence Day, Washington's Birthday, and the anniversary of the British evacuation of New York. It is demonstrable that Pintard helped to create Washington's Birthday and the Fourth of July as national holidays. It seems clear from this almanac that he was thinking of St. Nicholas and Nicholas Day in the same patriotic spirit and would push the cult for the same patriotic reasons. He, or more probably his patriot uncle, may have been at those pre-Revolutionary meet-

[8] To my knowledge, the first appearance of St. Nicholas in a published almanac is *Longworth's Directory* for 1816–17; the name does not appear in the first issue, 1815–16.



Days of Week & Month.	8 o'clock A.M. Therm. at 20 Inch.	December. 1793.	Remarks.
Sunday 1.	39½	Moderate cloudy A.M. Clear P.M.	
Monday 2	40	Filled the 1st South Bay [illegible] Bed of the hot bed with Leaves at bottom & fresh manure clearing away the Barn Yard cutting wood.	Mr Pintard rec'd from Wm Gilchrist with Mr Bard's Bill
Tuesday 3.	30½	Took up the Red Carrots & Parsnips.	
Wednesday 4	30½	Visited Snow Storm all last night cleared off at noon 6 I. D. N.E. Snow 1 foot deep [illegible] the cabbages.	
Thursday 5.	30.	taking in the root cellar celery & onions.	
Friday 6.	31½	At work in the wood house.	St. Nicholas.
Saturday 7	30½	Rain last night & this morning heavy frost evening. Snow gone off [illegible] cold.	
	30		
Monday 9	36	Filling Asparagus beds in the Draws.	
Tuesday 10.	36.	Small Frost last night. Drawing Grapes from the vines.	Mr Hale came out from town. Mr Hoyt & Mr Hoyt to go to Mr Hodden in the Swamps.
Wednesday 11		Covering grape vines with Dung.	
Thursday 12.	34½	Clear & cold.	
Friday 13.	33½	Clear & cold. Snowing & carrying wood.	
Saturday 14	35.	Mailing Beets in the side of the Celery.	Mr Bard din'd with us. Mr Pintard with us. Miss Hoyt to Mr Pintard to Princeton.
Sunday 15.	35.		
Monday 16.	36½	Quite temperate cutting Sawing & carrying wood.	Allen killed 3 Hogs weighed 1020 lb. Mr John Rowland died Æ 35.
Tuesday 17.	41		

PAGE FROM JOHN PINTARD'S DIARY

Showing his first mention of St. Nicholas, Dec. 6, 1793

Manuscript at the New-York Historical Society

ings of the Sons of St. Nicholas. At all events, as St. Tammany had become in his mind the patron saint of his nation, St. Nicholas had become the patron saint of his city. I suspect that he now found it very easy to associate St. Nicholas with the Dutch. The forgotten Dutch colonizing of New Amsterdam was now remembered with civic pride. Toasts were nightly being drunk to France, Holland,[9] and the United States as the three republics where freedom ruled. Americans were grateful for the help of the two Continental countries.

Although Pintard left the city in the year of his 1793 almanac, he was back at the turn of the century and realized a major dream with the establishment of The New-York Historical Society in 1804. Soon that Society would be celebrating with him his special saint's day.

Today we are somewhat sheepish when we gather to acknowledge St. Nicholas as our patron. We do not realize what saintly patronage meant around the year 1800 when, for instance, St. Cecilia Societies were being formed in every town. We have substituted other symbols for saints. Tammany is no longer a saint, but a tiger. Even in this instance Pintard was in the van; for though he did not create the tiger, in his later days he referred to Tammany as a panther. Our United States is now symbolized by Uncle Sam; but in 1800, it was St. Tammany. Through Pintard, New York was symbolized by St. Nicholas, although very shortly Father Knickerbocker moved in.

In statements about St. Nicholas' patronage of The New-York Historical Society, the year 1810 is usually cited. That year the Society held its first anniversary dinner for St. Nicholas, and the well-known broadside (reproduced herewith) which Pintard had Alexander Anderson engrave was published at his own expense. But there is every reason to believe that Pintard imposed the St. Nicholas idea on the Society from its start in 1804. Systematic records for the period 1804–1809 are not extant. But

[9] "When, in 1796, America's external debt stood at twelve million dollars, the whole amount was owed to Holland." (See *NYHS Quarterly*, April 1953, pp. 170–184; esp. 180–181.)

ST. NICHOLAS BROADSIDE ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY IN 1810

Woodcut by Alexander Anderson (1775–1870)

Commissioned by John Pintard at his own expense for the Society

According to one of the earliest records, on January 10, 1809, at the annual banquet of the Society, Dr. David Hosack (who because of Pintard's deafness was apt to give public utterance to Pintard's ideas) offered this toast:

To the memory of St. Nicholas. May the virtuous habits and simple manners of our Dutch ancestors be not lost in the luxuries and refinements of the present time.

At that same dinner, Washington Irving's name was proposed for membership. Hosack repeated the toast on September 4th at the 200th anniversary of Hudson's landing—a gala dinner given by the Society at the City Tavern, with Governor Tompkins,

WASHINGTON IRVING (1783–1859)
Wash drawing by John Wesley Jarvis, 1809
Courtesy of the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University

Mayor Clinton, and the whole Corporation present. The symbol was spreading.

Now we come to Washington Irving. At the very moment in January 1808 that Washington and Peter Irving had the inspiration which became the *Knickerbocker History*, *Salmagundi*[10] noticed Santa Claus:

> In his days, according to my grand-father, were first invented those notable cakes, hight new-year cookies, which originally were impressed on one side with the honest burly countenance of the illustrious Rip [Van Dam]; and on the other with that of the noted St. Nicholas, vulgarly called Santeclaus:- of all the saints of the calendar the most venerated by true Hollanders, and their unsophisticated descendants. These cakes are to this time given on the first of January to all visitors, together with a glass of cherry-bounce or raspberry brandy.

The embryo of the *Knickerbocker History* conceived at this date was, according to Irving, a take-off on the learned Doctor

[10] No. XX, Monday, Jan. 25, 1808.

amuel Latham Mitchill's guide to the City of New York. But o readers it must be clear that it was also a take-off on Mitchill imself.

Sic transit gloria! Today Mitchill is almost forgotten. Yet in 808 he was everywhere. A few years later, he published a small ook listing 194 famous events of American history which had imself at their centers. Professor of chemistry and natural phil-sophy at Columbia College, in these years 1804 to 1809 he vas United States Senator, not by election, but by appointment f Clinton's party as Clinton's successor. As late as the opening f the Erie Canal in 1825, there he was, wedding the waters with olysyllabic words and baroque images. So wined and dined was e that table and glass may well account for his failing powers. At his death, Pintard wrote to his biographer, Dr. Francis: "He endered important services to his country by the promotion of cience and literature. . . . Let not the merits and services of the ctive period of our eminent fellow citizen be veiled by the railties of his old age."[11]

Although the Doctor was at the height of adulation in 1808, oung Irving could see Mitchill's frailties as fit subjects for his umorous pen. A kindlier disposition than Irving's would be ard to find. But the learned Dr. Mitchill, who looks unbeliev-bly pompous to us of another age, must have many a night been ped and parodied at Cockloft Hall. Now just at that moment, Mitchill was making a great play for Historicity. He was public rator for Pintard and DeWitt Clinton, and he was the waddling mbodiment of The New-York Historical Society.[12]

[11] As youths, Mitchill and Pintard were both pupils of Leonard Cutting. Cutting arried a Pintard, and Mitchill was his greatest student. Cutting "early predicted he future eminence of his pupil, and contributed by his praise and encouragement o its fulfilment." (N.Y. Genealogical and Biographical Society, *Records* II, 162.)

[12] Later, Gulian Verplanck (in his *The State Triumvirate*, 1819) was to take a ig at the same group:

> Hark! hear the philosophers—loudly they swear
> From thy laurel-crown'd head its honours to tear,
> And thou, too, my David—with what a blithe air,
> Great H-s-ck usurps the historical chair!
> While Magnanimous M-tch-ll claims as his own
> To sit sov'reign lord on Philosophy's throne.

And so, when the *History* was published, it was derisively dedicated to this Society. Nor was that all. With a care and thoughtful planning that in no way marked the frenzied composition of the manuscript, Irving purposely published the *History* on St. Nicholas Day, December 6, 1809. As a prelude, he ran ads for nearly a month before about the missing Knickerbocker to whet the public's appetite, as they did. Knickerbocker himself—the name literally means "child's marble baker"— is in certain flashes Mitchill, and in still other flashes Pintard and Hosack and Clinton.

Irving joined the Society while composing the *History*, apparently to gather material—just to see, we can imagine, what made those mortals tick; for they were then uncongenial to him. But he who came to scoff remained to pray. As Irving's biographer, Professor Stanley Williams, records, the act of writing this lovable satire interested the author in history, so that from his pen eventually flowed his Columbus, Astoria, and Washington. He learned, too, to take his St. Nicholas prayerfully; so that he was primarily responsible for the founding, in 1835, of the St. Nicholas Society.

Without Irving there would be no Santa Claus. The *History* contains no less than twenty-five allusions to him—many of them the most delightful flights of imagination in the volume. *Here* is the source of the legends about St. Nicholas in New Amsterdam —of the emigrant ship *Goede Vrouw*, like a Dutch matron as broad as she was long, with a figurehead of St. Nicholas at the prow. Here are the descriptions of festivities on St. Nicholas Day in the colony, and of the church dedicated to him. Here is the description of Santa Claus bringing gifts, parking his horse and wagon on the roof while he slides down the chimney.

Santa Claus was a parasitic germ until the *Knickerbocker History* in 1809; after 1809 Santa Claus spread like a plague which has yet to reach its peak.[13] The History was nationally hailed as

[13] Only three years later a juvenile (*False Stories Corrected*, published by Samuel Wood, 357 Pearl Street) tried to debunk "Old Santaclaw, of whom so often little

he first notable work of imagination in the New World. Here, t last, was American Literature. "I can remember," said William Cullen Bryant, " learning a passage from it for a declamation and drowning myself in laughter, drawing the rebuke of the tutor." t was quoted in Gotham taverns at a time when Temperance was not yet heard of.

The next December (1810), Pintard printed the Society's *Sancte Claus goed heylig man*, with a drawing made up of freshly coined iconography. Had there been a standard image, no new coinage would have been necessary or desirable.[14] Though it is plain from Pintard's words that the verses were virtually unknown until he printed them, less than two weeks later the first American Santa Claus poem appeared in the New York *Spectator* (December 15, 1810). It is obviously derived from both the Pintard verses and the *Knickerbocker History:*

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children hear such foolish stories; and once in the year are encouraged to hang their stockings in the Chimney at night, and when they arise in the morning, they find in them cakes, nuts, money, etc. placed there by some of the family, which they are told Old Santaclaw has come down Chimney in the night and put in. Thus the little innocents are imposed on by those who are older than they, and improper ideas take possession, which are not by any means profitable."

[14] Eighteen years later Pintard wrote, in a letter to his daughter, that he had heard some lines of this verse from his mother-in-law, but could only learn all of the words from a Mrs. John Hardenbrook (aet. 87) through Judge Benson. Both women had Dutch connections. The verses, as printed in Pintard's broadside, are related to an eighteenth-century Dutch song, somewhat debased, presumably by oral transmission. At this late date Pintard wrote that his children had sung the verses as infants; but it is doubtful. The ease with which the mind confuses the chronology of popular customs is well documented. For example, Pintard set the appearance of St. Nicholas on December 6th in his calendar and in the first days of the Society; in 1820 he set the appearance on New Year Day; but now in 1828 he set it on Christmas, and thought it had occurred on Christmas throughout his life. When St. Nicholas was introduced into New York households, the date of visitation usually depended on the sect of the family. Strict Anglican families would not give gifts at the New Year (despite the English commercial custom alluded to above) because that day was a pagan holiday. The Reformed-Church families would not give gifts on Christmas because it was a Christian holy day. Moore (professor in an Anglican seminary) in 1822 wrote, "The night before Christmas"; but there are printings of his verses during the next twenty years in which the line is changed to, "The night before New Years." These religious scruples only gradually disappeared. There are evidences of Santa Claus's visitation on New Year's Eve as late as the 1850's. No doubt the popularity of Moore's verses helped to center the event on Christmas. Pintard gradually drifted from his Huguenot church; by 1828 he was firmly installed in the Anglican communion, to which his family subscribed.

Oh good holy man! whom we Sancte Claus name,
The Nursery forever your praise shall proclaim:
The day of your joyful revisit returns,
When each little bosom with gratitude burns,
For the gifts which at night you so kindly impart
To the girls of your love, and the boys of your heart.
Oh! come with your panniers and pockets well stow'd,
Our stockings shall help you to lighten your load,
As close to the fireside gaily they swing,
While delighted we dream of the presents you bring.

Oh! bring the bright Orange so juicy and sweet,
Bring almonds and raisins to heighten the treat;
Rich waffles and dough-nuts must not be forgot,
Nor Crullers and Oley-Cooks fresh from the pot.
But of all these fine presents your Saintship can find,
Oh! leave not the famous big Cookies behind.
Or if in your hurry one thing you mislay,
Let that be the Rod—and oh! keep it away.

Then holy St. Nicholas! all the year,
Our books we will love and our parents revere,
From naughty behavior we'll always refrain,
In hopes that you'll come and reward us again.

Santa Claus was *made* by Washington Irving. As if that were not enough, his partner and brother-in-law, James K. Paulding, who could not leave a good joke alone, repeated it again and again. If we think of Paulding at all, and we should, we probably think of him as Secretary of the Navy under Van Buren. We forget the wide circulation of his fiction. His publisher gave him an advance royalty of $1400 on one book (*The Dutchman's Fireside*, 1830), and he published about thirty. You can tell something of his effectiveness by recalling that "Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers" is his. He published a volume entitled *The Book of St. Nicholas*, full of new-coined Nicholas-legend, straight out of the *Salmagundi* workshop.[15] Santa Claus appeared regularly in other books of his. Irving, unlike Paulding, would

[15] It may be noted that Paulding, who published documents and studies of New Amsterdam which are still serviceable, never mentions St. Nicholas in such works. For example, in *Stuyvesant*, pp. 65–66, he writes on "Festivals and Amusements of the People." He reports only three holidays: Christmas, New Year, and May Day.

not overwork a joke; but up would bob St. Nicholas in his stories of the Hudson as much as thirty years after the *History*.

From 1809, St. Nicholas *was* New York. As commerce shifted here from Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston, this funnel of new immigration placed its stamp upon the popular culture of America. Immigrants, temporarily settled in the city while awaiting an opportunity to migrate to the hinterland, consciously tried to shed the manners of the Old World and don the manners of the New. The city set their standard. The next decades, too, established the city as the hub of publishing, of styles, and of the lively arts. No question, Irving made our Santa Claus. But who made his? The New-York Historical Society.

I mention but two other incidents in the maturation of Santa Claus. In both, members of this Society played a part.

The first, of course, is Clement Moore's poem, *A Visit of St. Nicholas*, written Christmas 1822.[10] It has been known that Moore depended upon Irving. "Laying his finger aside of his nose" is a direct quote from the *History*. I am not sure that Moore knew precisely what he was quoting—so commonplace had such quotations from the *History* become by 1822.

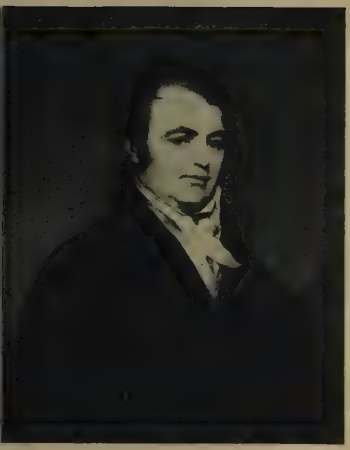
The legends about this poem are growing nearly as fast as legends about Santa Claus himself. For instance, there is a widespread legend that Clement Moore learned about Santa Claus from his Dutch gardener in a moment's pause from Moore's Hebrew studies. The germ was an off-hand remark of a member of Moore's family. But legend it surely is. By 1820, Santa Claus was fairly commonplace in New York journalism. Even this erudite son of the Episcopal Bishop of New York and President of Columbia College must have heard of Santa Claus after Irving. True, he would do his best to forget the image—for fifteen years

[10] Doubt has been cast on the assignment of these verses to Moore (cf. *The Bookman*, Dec. 1920, pp. 300–305). I can see no reason whatever for the doubt. Anapests for children's verse were standard; see the 1810 verses quoted above. From 1838 the sensationally popular verses were attributed to him, and he not only subscribed to the attribution but included the verses in a reprint of his poetry and deposited a holograph copy of the poem at The New-York Historical Society. Moore, of all men, was the soul of honor.

he was silent about the doggerel he wrote, a long time to avoid fame for the sake of aesthetics. Moore was a most admirable man —a leading Hebrew scholar, benevolent and religious, and a loving father. But he was conventional in the best eighteenth-century manner, and pedantic. While he and Pintard were working together with Bishop Hobart and others for the establishment of the General Theological Seminary, Pintard recorded in his private notebook: "I told [Moore] not to speak slightly or disrespectfully of what he was totally ignorant. Is he a sample of the professors of the local school— . . . Eheu! professor."

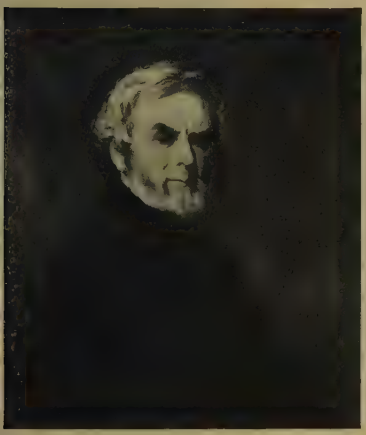
Although I am a professor, I cannot wholly resent Pintard's attitude. I have read all of Moore's published poetry—probably I am the only man in this century to have done so. His imagination was derivative. His anapests and iambs never falter, and his diction is time-tested and secure. I do not mean that his delightful rhymes about St. Nicholas are out of character. There is a mood of irresponsibility that overwhelms fathers at the Christmas season, and in none is the mood more marked or more catastrophic in its results than in pedants. These sensitive souls, who must always be right as they front the world and consequently succeed in being only stuffy, are at that season caught with their inhibitions down. It seems to me that half of my respected colleagues spend their holidays chewing pencils over doggerel for their children. I imagine that some of it is remarkably good; but I shall never know, for the author is protected by the iron curtain of the family circle. Moore's *St. Nicholas* is Moore's, despite claims to the contrary. Even *belly—jelly* was a good classical rhyme in Moore's eighteenth-century models. But not the reindeer.

In Irving's *History*, in Paulding's stories, and the like, Santa Claus drives a horse and wagon. Arthur Hosking, in his *True Story of a Visit from St. Nicholas*, and other true-story writers say that Moore invented the reindeer. But did he? Moore knew how to multiply; he was perfectly capable of turning one reindeer into eight, and of naming them. Drayton was a favorite



JOHN PINTARD (1759–1844)
By John Trumbull, 1817
Painted for the Society

SAMUEL L. MITCHILL (1764–1831)
By James Sharples (*c.* 1751–1811)
Gift of Dr. Samuel Akerly, 1816



ROBERT W. WEIR (1803–1889)
Self-portrait
Purchased by the Society, 1953

GULIAN C. VERPLANCK (1786–1870)
By Charles C. Ingham, *c.* 1830
Gift of members of the Society, 1878

FOUR WHO HELPED ESTABLISH ST. NICHOLAS IN NEW YORK

poet of his, and Drayton, in his *Nymphidia*, showed him how. Drayton turned Shakespeare's image of Queen Mab's lazy finger of a maid into waiting-maids called Fib and Tib, Pinck and Pin, Tick and Quick, Jill and Jin, Tit and Nit, and Wap and Win. Shakespeare showed Drayton; but who showed Moore?

At the Historical Society's St. Nicholas Day celebrated a dozen years ago Mrs. Carson answered that question, when she told how she and Dr. Brigham of The American Antiquarian Society discovered a unique copy of a juvenile called *The Children's Friend*, published on Broadway just the year before Clement Moore wrote his poem. Illustrations, which, I understand, were the first published by lithograph in America, accompany eight quatrains about Santeclaus. The first quatrain:

> Old Santeclaus with much delight
> His reindeer drives this frosty night,
> O'er chimney-tops, and tracks of snow,
> To bring his yearly gifts to you.

is illustrated by a sprightly reindeer and sleigh.[17]

I doubt that Moore would have written *St. Nicholas* in any other year; fathers in a holiday frenzy seize the subject close at hand. In 1821 the General Theological Seminary opened its doors, and its little faculty of six were in constant association. It was a strange faculty—all, or virtually all, questionable to Pintard, but beloved of Bishop Hobart. Pintard records that he especially fought and lost on the appointment of Gulian Verplanck as Professor of the Evidences of Revealed Religion. Pintard never could have felt warmly about Verplanck, but they had worked closely together as leaders of The New-York Historical Society. Pintard, and we, shall never understand that appointment. But neither did Verplanck's family; neither did the taverns of New York, where a younger Gulian had frolicked

[17] Although travelling zoos and circuses were popular at the time, none of the ads, broadsides, or news items indicates any reindeer. Strangely enough this association of Santa Claus and reindeer, or rather, of the winter holidays and reindeer, may have resulted from the launching at Medford, December 12, 1814, of the brig *Reindeer*. Because of the disasters of the Napoleonic and British wars, this event was widely discussed in the press at the time of the Christmas and New Year holidays.

with Irving and the Cats of Kilkenny. Neither did the Historical Society, of which he was now a leading member, nor the Democrats, whom he represented in the Assembly and was shortly to represent in the Congress of the United States; nor the authors and artists whom he worked with and sponsored, nor the wealthy Dutch burghers, now, at last, by grace of Irving, the aristocracy of the city. Gulian was a devotee of Irving's Santa Claus; and he was Professor of the Evidences of Revealed Religion in the new Seminary. He could only have been in that chair because Moore put him there, with the concurrence of Bishop Hobart. He had been associated with Moore at Columbia. Gulian, who was the youngest and most brilliant Bachelor of Arts ever to graduate at Columbia, could write the kind of classical criticism Moore understood and appreciated.[18]

Those who have read July's enjoyable biography know that Gulian occupied *any* chair only for the purpose of talking. Every faculty has its Gulian, who perches himself on his colleagues' desks and pours out his moment's enthusiasm. They cannot choose but hear. And in 1822 Verplanck's enthusiasm was Santa Claus.

So there is, I believe, an element of truth in the myth about Clement Moore's Dutch gardener; only the gardener was Gulian

[18] Gulian, too, was primary in the forming of the *Knickerbocker History*. He and Washington Irving were at that time fellow readers in law in the office of Josiah Ogden Hoffman. Gulian married Hoffman's sister-in-law (Miss Fenno); Washington became engaged to Hoffman's daughter. Although Gulian's mother was a notorious Anglophile during the Revolution, and his father no ardent patriot, Gulian, during the period of post-Revolutionary exaltation of Holland, began to boast his Dutch extraction, as did other New Yorkers. Gulian could have been both an inspiration and a source for Irving; in fact, we may guess, in the absence of records, that it was Gulian who introduced Irving to this Society. According to his nephew, many years later: "I remember when Washington Irving first came from Europe, on a Sunday shortly after his return, Mr. Verplanck and my brother Ogden Hoffman unexpectedly dropped in to dinner. My sister Mrs. Annie Nicholas, was at home. All of them had been most intimate from their early years; Verplanck and Irving had studied law with my father. Verplanck had married my aunt, and Irving had been engaged to my sister who had died while still young . . . . Irving had not seen them for many years and it was as if their youth had returned to them again . . . . Mr. Verplanck was fond of all old time customs, and celebrated Christmas with his grandchildren in the good old way. The Yule log was burned, the Boar's head adorned the table, the house was strung with green boughs, and Santa Claus (Kris Kringle) left his presents in appropriate costume." (N.Y. Genealogical and Biographical Society, *Records* I, 52.)

Crommelin Verplanck, collaborator with Sands and Bryant on *The Talisman*, Peter Puff, the pseudonymous author of *The Bucktail Bards*, friend of James Fenimore Cooper (who refers to Santa Claus in *The Pioneers*, which he was writing at this moment); a founder of the St. Nicholas Society and the St. Nicholas Club. At Christmas 1822, Verplanck and Moore were close indeed. If you think, as I do, that *St. Nicholas* is a little out of Moore's natural channel, look to Gulian Verplanck, in some ways the most typical of the Knickerbockers.

In 1951 The New-York Historical Society acquired a lovely painting of Santa Claus through the generosity of the late Mr. Zabriskie, who was one of the latest in a long line of friends of Santa Claus. Dr. Vail has published two very informative articles[19] on this painting and on a watercolor sketch from which it was done by Robert Weir, Professor of Painting and Drawing at the Military Academy at West Point, in 1837.

Among the Society's papers is a series of letters from Weir to Verplanck. This correspondence indicates, first, that before the publication of Moore's poem in *The New York Book of Verse* in 1837 Weir had done still another picture of St. Nicholas at Verplanck's request. That St. Nicholas is apparently lost. The Society's picture was primarily done to sell to Verplanck, or to Ward if Gulian did not want it, for $200, which Weir badly needed. Weir regarded the Society's picture as the best work he had done to date.

In the early thirties, Verplanck was Professor of History and Weir was Professor of Perspective in Samuel F. B. Morse's National Academy of Design. Verplanck the editor was the first to publish Weir's work, and Verplanck the politician got Weir his appointment at West Point. Weir reciprocated, as the correspondence indicates (Feb. 19, 1838), by naming one of his numerous progeny for Gulian.

Weir, at West Point, was trying to rear a family of what was eventually eleven children on a salary of $900 a year and house.

[19] *NYHS Quarterly*, Oct. 1951, pp. 337–343; Oct. 1953, pp. 326–330. The painting is reproduced in color as frontispiece to the 1951 issue.

In 1836 Weir was in debt; he was also angling for a commission to paint one of the panels for the Rotunda in the new national Capitol. The commission meant a sum fabulous for any professor in any time—ten thousand dollars. Two voices that would help to determine who would get this prize were Verplanck's and Washington Irving's. While Weir was painting our St. Nicholas —Irving's subject, and one specifically commissioned by Verplanck—a committee was meeting in Washington to decide the commission.

I am happy to report that even as Weir shipped his second Santa Claus, the Society's painting, to Gulian, he received word of his award. Six years later, his panel on a truly Dutch subject—The Departure of the Pilgrims from Delft-Haven—was sent on a triumphant tour of the country before being installed in the Rotunda, where it can still be seen. This is a demonstrable argument that it pays to believe in Santa Claus.

ST. NICHOLAS, OR SANTA CLAUS

By Robert W. Weir, West Point, 1837

Gift of George A. Zabriskie, 1951

THE SOCIETY GROWS UP

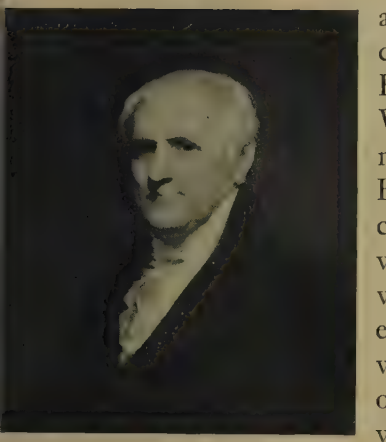
by R. W. G. Vail

EGBERT BENSON (1746–1833)

FIRST PRESIDENT (1805–1815)

A native of New York City, Egbert Benson graduated from King's College in 1765 and became a member of the bar four years later. He was a Revolutionary patriot of great activity and helped set up the new State government; a member of the Provincial Congress in 1776, of the Council of Safety from 1777 to 1778, of the first Legislative Assembly in 1777, where he drafted some of the most important legislation. He also served as first Attorney General for ten years beginning in 1777. In national affairs, he was a delegate to the Congress of the Confederation, 1781–1784, to the Annapolis Convention of 1786 and represented New York in the first two United States Congresses. He was a strong backer of the Administration and especially of the measures advocated by Hamilton. In 1794 he began a seven-year term as Justice of the New York Supreme Court and in 1801 became Chief Justice of the Second United States Circuit Court. When this court was abolished in 1802 he retired to private practice but served briefly in Congress, 1813–1815. His legal learning, which was second only to that of Hamilton, was recognized by his receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws from Union, Harvard, and Dartmouth. He served as Regent of the University of the State of New York from 1787 to 1802, as a Trustee of Columbia College from 1804 to 1815, and as first President of our Society, of which he was a Founder, from 1805 to 1815. He published a standard legal work on Cases and Queries in 1809, A Vindication of the Captors of Major André in 1817, and a Memoir on New York Dutch Place Names, which he had delivered before the Society in 1816, appeared in 1825 and was Long Island.[1] The Society owns his oil portrait by Gilbert Stuart as well as Jarvis's early copy of it.

DURING the eleven years of Benson's presidency our nation was governed by Jefferson to 1808 and then by Madison; Michigan, Illinois, and Missouri became Territories and Louisiana a State. The war between Great Britain and France closed European ports to our shipping and we retaliated with the Embargo Act which prohibited our ships from sailing to Europe



EGBERT BENSON (1746–1833)
First President of the Society, 1805–1815
By John Wesley Jarvis after Stuart
Gift of the artist before 1813

and so, for a time, ruined our commerce. Friction with Great Britain finally brought on the War of 1812 in which we won most of the naval battles and the British most of those on land, except the Battle of New Orleans which was fought after peace was declared. By this war we escaped British domination and won the freedom of the seas for our shipping and the eventual withdrawal of the English from the forts along our northern boundary. During this period we also won the wars with Tripoli and Algiers and permanently freed our ships from the menace of the Barbary pirates.

We also made great strides in opening the West. Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike explored the upper Mississippi Valley; two important roads, the Natchez Trace and the Cumberland Road, were built to bring settlers to the Mississippi and the Ohio Country; the American Fur Company set up its important trading post at Astoria, Oregon, and Indian uprisings were put down when Harrison defeated Tecumseh at Tippecanoe and the American Army killed him and scattered his warriors at the Battle of the Thames, while Jackson won from the Creeks at Talladega.

It was also in this period that Fulton developed the use of the steamboat on the Hudson and the Mississippi, natural gas was first used for lighting, the circular saw and the breech-loading carbine were invented, and the importation of slaves was prohibited.

Here in New York we built our defenses around the harbor and, in spite of them, lived in fear of invasion during the War of 1812; our naval heroes, Captain James Lawrence, of "Don't give up the ship" fame, and Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow were

buried at Trinity with fitting ceremony. In 1805 we weathered another yellow-fever epidemic; the American Academy of the Fine Arts was incorporated in 1808, the new City Hall was dedicated on May 5, 1812, and DeWitt Clinton was our excellent Mayor most of the time. In the meantime Noah Webster published his dictionary, Irving and Paulding began their literary careers with *Salmagundi*, and Francis Scott Key wrote *The Star Spangled Banner*. America was growing up.

You could say that The New-York Historical Society started on a shoestring, except that it didn't even have a shoestring to begin with—just the optimistic enthusiasm of a small handful of local men of taste and refinement who loved history. It was fortunate that one of them was the Mayor and another the City Clerk; that solved the problem of at least a temporary home for the new Society, for it was provided with a rent-free room in the Old City Hall on Wall Street which it occupied from December 1804 to August 1809.[2]

Having held its organization meeting on November 20, 1804, the Society met again at the City Hall, with Egbert Benson as Chairman, on December 10th, with ten new members in attendance, including Daniel D. Tompkins who was at that time an Associate Justice of the New York Supreme Court and was later to be Governor of the State and Vice-President of the United States; and Rufus King, who had been a member of the Continental Congress, a delegate to the Federal Constitutional Convention, United States Senator, United States Minister to Great Britain, and an unsuccessful candidate for the Vice-Presidency. He was later to serve again as United States Senator and Minister to Great Britain and to run unsuccessfully as candidate for the Vice-Presidency and the Presidency. His splendid library of American history, augmented by that of his son John Alsop King, was eventually given to our Society. Other members who joined at this meeting were Reverend John Henry Hobart, later Rector of Trinity Church and Bishop of the Diocese, Reverend John Bowden, Reverend William Harris, Reverend John C.

FIRST HOME OF THE SOCIETY, 1804–1809

City (Federal) Hall, corner of Wall and Nassau Streets
Original watercolor by Archibald Robertson, 1798

The New-York Historical Society

Kunze, Dr. John Kemp, Dr. Peter Wilson, Dr. Archibald Bruce, and John Murray, Jr.

The only business of the meeting was the adoption of a Constitution which had been drawn up by Egbert Benson, Reverend Samuel Miller, and John Pintard. Among other provisions it stated that "This Society shall be denominated 'The New York Historical Society.' The object of the Society shall be to discover, procure, and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and of this State in particular." The Society was to consist of resident members who must live within the State and honorary members living elsewhere.

At the third meeting of the Society, on January 14, 1805, seven new members joined: Reverend Benjamin Moore, former

Rector of Trinity, President of Columbia College, Bishop of the Diocese, and father of Reverend Clement Clarke Moore, a founder of the General Theological Seminary and author of *'Twas the night before Christmas;* Brockholst Livingston, a Revolutionary veteran and local lawyer who was later to serve as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court; William Johnson; Charles Wilkes; John McKesson; Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill; and John Forbes, the Society's first Librarian.

The purpose of the meeting was the election of officers, and the following were duly elected:

Egbert Benson, President
Bishop Benjamin Moore, First Vice-President
Brockholst Livingston, Second Vice-President
Reverend Samuel Miller, Corresponding Secretary
John Pintard, Recording Secretary
Charles Wilkes, Treasurer
John Forbes, Librarian

Standing Committee

William Johnson
Samuel L. Mitchill
Dr. David Hosack
Reverend John M. Mason
Daniel D. Tompkins
John McKesson
Anthony Bleecker

The new Society was cautiously feeling its way and so took only one step at a time. Having provided itself with a Constitution and a corps of officers, it now set about an advertising campaign and so, at the meeting on January 22d, an *Address to the Public* was approved for publication in the newspapers and as a separate printed letter to prospective members and donors. The letter occupied two folio printed pages with a second leaf blank for the sender's personal message, if any, and the superscription. The printed message began with a letter dated from New York, February 12, 1805, which was adroitly worded as follows:

Sir, A number of Gentlemen in this City having formed an Association, for the promotion of Historical Inquiries; pursuant to an Order of the Society, copies of their Constitution and Address are now transmitted

) you, and you are hereby informed that you are considered an original esident Member of the Society. Should you consent to become a mem- er, you are requested to communicate your acceptance to the Corre- ponding Secretary.

By Order of the Society,

[*signed*] Egb[t] Benson President
[*signed*] Sam[l] Miller Corresponding Secretary.

This was followed in the printed document by the *Constitution* and the appeal *To the Public*, a long and interesting statement of the need for collecting the materials for our history, the types of material wanted for the Society's library, both manuscript and printed, and "animal, vegetable and mineral subjects" for its cabinet of natural history. The document ended with a series of twenty-three *Queries* regarding particular points of local or national history for which the Society craved the answers. The Constitution and Queries were also printed in the *New-York Herald*, February 13, 1805, and in other newspapers of the city.

On April 9th another meeting of the Society was held at which the "Bye-laws" which had been drawn up by Reverend Samuel Miller, Corresponding Secretary, and Messrs. William Johnson and Anthony Bleecker of the Standing Committee, were considered and approved and it was voted to print 500 copies of the *Constitution, Bye-laws*, the address *To the Public*, the *Queries* and the list of *Officers of the Society* in an octavo pamphlet to further the campaign for members and materials.[3] The By-laws outlined the duties of the various officers and stipulated that members might borrow books and manuscripts from the library. Though many gifts to the library were received from the members and others, only one new member came in as the result of this appeal, Dr. Edward Miller, who joined on April 9, 1806. According to the official Register of Members, the twenty-nine, including the founders, so far listed were considered "Original Members" of the Society.

John Pintard was an inveterate book collector and also the

staunchest friend of the Society he had founded. Though he could not afford to give largely from his own slender means, he realized that the Society needed a library and that such a collection would grow if it had a proper start so, on April 13, 1807, he offered to sell his own substantial library of American history at cost and a committee was appointed to look into the matter. By September 15, 1809, sufficient funds were available and the collection was purchased. On January 10, 1809, Francis B. Winthrop presented a collection of 22 books and 61 sermons including many of the rarest books on North America. These and the few other books which had drifted in were deposited for safe keeping with the City Library, that is, the New York Society Library. Thus the Historical Society's present great library of hundreds of thousands of books on the Americas had its beginning.

Having become fully organized, with a small but enthusiastic membership and the beginnings of a library, the Society, on January 10, 1809, decided to petition the Legislature for an act of incorporation. The act was promptly passed on February 10, 1809, and the Society was duly incorporated "by the name of 'The New-York Historical Society,' and by such name they and their successors forever hereafter shall and may have succession." And that is how the Society happened to have the hyphen in its name. Though the document has been amended from time to time, the name as recorded by the Legislature in 1809 has never been changed, until now it is a matter of pride and distinction. The original act of incorporation did not anticipate the present size of the Society's holdings for it stipulated that "the yearly income or value of the said real or personal estate [of the Society] do not at any time exceed the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, current money of the State of New York." This was, of course extended in later amendments.[4]

Having attained the legal status of an incorporated body, the Society began to take itself seriously and so decided to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the discovery of this part of

SECOND HOME OF THE SOCIETY, 1809–1816
Government House, foot of Bowling Green
Original watercolor by Charles Milbourne, 1797
The New-York Historical Society

America by Captain Henry Hudson. How their plans were carried out the reader may discover by turning to the later chapter on "Elegant Dinners and Eloquent Diners." The enthusiasm for the local history of the region which grew out of the Hudson celebration led to the publication of the Society's first volume of *Collections* which, however, did not finally appear until 1811.

Since the Society was growing modestly but steadily, the cramped temporary quarters in the old City Hall were becoming inadequate and the members looked longingly at Government House, the handsome two-story building with Corinthian columns which had been built on the site of old Fort Amsterdam at Bowling Green and which had originally been intended as the home of President Washington but which he never occupied since the government was removed to Philadelphia. After having been used as the residence of Governors George Clinton and John Jay, the building became the Custom House but it was a

large building and the rooms on the second floor were not needed for official purposes, so part of this space was turned over to the American Academy of the Arts in 1808 and, on September 9, 1809, they very generously offered the northeast room to the Historical Society. The offer was promptly accepted six days later and the Society held its first meeting in its second home on September 15th. The College of Physicians, having been offered space on the same floor, our Society moved, the following month, to the northwest room to which they brought their library from its temporary quarters in the New York Society Library, and there it remained for the next six years.

With ample space available at last for the housing of a library, the Society began a second vigorous campaign for gifts of books, manuscripts, and museum objects by issuing another appeal *To the Public*, dated September 15th, 1809, and signed: *John Pintard, Recording Sec'y*. A reprint of the previous appeal, this quarto broadside pointed out the lack of any good history of the State and emphasized the need for gathering the materials for such a work. It is interesting that, thus early in our history, our wise founders stated that: "Our inquiries are not limited to a single State, or district, but extend to the whole Continent." Thus our Society was the first agency in America to collect the history of the nation.

Although new members and gifts of books and manuscripts were very gratifying, there was almost no money coming in and so, in March 1810, the Society turned for relief to the State. With two of the most active members of the Society, DeWitt Clinton in the Senate and Samuel L. Mitchill in the Assembly, at Albany, it was hoped that a bill favoring the Society might be passed. Armed with a petition signed by President Benson praying that the Legislature would grant them such aid as they should deem meet, John Pintard went up to the capitol to do a little lobbying. The following letter, in our archives, from Pintard to the influential Stephen Van Rensselaer, a member of the Assembly, shows how persuasive our Founder was as a lobbyist:

Albany 20th March, 1810

ır

I took the liberty of mentioning to you, yesterday, that Mr. Clinton ould bring forward in the Senate a clause in favour of the New York listorical Society annexed to a Bill, authorizing the Managers of the nion College Lottery to raise the additional sum of $5000—in the three st clauses of said Lottery, and the Managers of the Lottery granted the oard of Health of the City of N York to raise the same sum—and direct- ıg that the additional sum of the two first mentioned Lotteries be paid ıto the Treasury of this State, to be applied to the exterpation of Wolves Panthers, and the additional sums to the Last of the Union College ottery and of the Board of Health to be paid to the New York Historical ociety to be applied to the collecting and preserving of materials to ucidate the natural, civil and ecclesiastical History of this and the Jnited States.

As this is a national object, and as the resources of our Society arising rom subscriptions & donations are totally inadequate to accomplish any ıing on a liberal Scale, I will esteem it a high obligation conferred on ur Society, of which you are a member [*sic;* elected October 12, 1813], you will give the Bill, when it comes down to your House, your ountenance and support— and interest our federal friends in its success. ortunate shall we deem ourselves, and honourable will it be for the haracter of the State should the expropriation of Wolves and Panthers ead to the cultivation of Science as well as the fruits of the earth. This vill indeed be enabling the Wilderness to blossom as a Rose.

I shall leave it in trust with Doctor Mitchill to operate upon his side of he House and hope that no obstacles will arise, should the bill pass the enate, to impede its progress through the Assembly.

I regret extremely that the only oppo. [rtunity] that has ever occurred ı my life of visiting Albany does not admit of a longer stay in a place vhich far surpasses every idea I had formed of it. [*A little taffy for the 'roprietor of Rensselaerswyck!*] Short as my stay has been I shall always ecall my rapid visit with pleasure and reperuse Mrs. Grant's flattering ıicture of the Albanians with additional gratification.[5]

Be pleased to tender my respects to your lady and accept the acknowl- dgments, in advance, for your friendly services

Of

Sir

Your obed.t hum. serv.t

John Pintard

Stephen Van Rensselaer Esq.

Though the meaning of the first paragraph of this letter seems ı bit obscure at this distance of time, it is not half as perplexing as

DE WITT CLINTON (1769–1828)

Painted from life by George Catlin, *c.* 1825

Gift of Mrs. G. Stanton Tiffany, 1946

try to figure out how in the world the Historical Society got
ed to the tails of the wolves and panthers—or to that of the
nion College Lottery, and the New York Board of Health, for
at matter. The two following letters tell the rest of the sad tale
hich shows how near our State still was to the wilderness and
ow far from polite civilization.

Albany, March 22, 1810.

ear Sir:

I have the pleasure of informing you that the bill for endowing the
istorical Society, and killing the wolves and panthers, passed the Senate
is morning without opposition. If the Federal Assembly shall act as
berally as the Republican Senate, it will go down, but I am fearful that
our party will be very deficient in this respect . . . .

I am, dear sir, yours sincerely,

ohn Pintard, Esq. DeWitt Clinton

Albany, April 3, 1810.

ear Sir:

I have the mortification to inform you that the bill from the Senate
or the destruction of wild beasts, and for the encouragement of history,
as this day debated and finally rejected. The vote, in spite of all that
ne friends of the projects could say, was 43 to 27. I supported it with as
ood a speech as I could make. But all was in vain. The great objection
as that too many lottery jobs had been authorized already, and under
is influence the thing would not work. Van Horne made the motion
o reject. He ought to be conveyed to his native town in a car drawn
y wolves, panthers, and wild-cats. . . .

Truly yours, as ever,

S. L. Mitchill

So DeWitt Clinton proved a better prophet than his friend
intard was a lobbyist, the wolves and panthers kept their pelts
nd the State its pelf, and the Society had to think of a new
cheme to fill its coffers. By Holiday time the Society had re-
overed its good humor and had decided to celebrate St. Nicho-
as' day, as you may learn by turning once more to the chapter on
Elegant Dinners and Eloquent Diners."

As an evidence of its serious purpose as a publisher as well as a collector of American history, the Society issued its first volume of *Collections* late in 1811.[6] It contained the Society's Constitution; Dr. Samuel Miller's Discourse on the discovery of New York, delivered September 4, 1809; the relation of John De Verrazzano; the four voyages of Henry Hudson; certain documents on New York under the Dutch from Hazard's *Historical Collections;* and the never-before-printed Duke's Laws of 1665. This was certainly an excellent beginning of the more than 600 volumes and pamphlets which we were to publish by the time of our Sesqui-Centennial.

St. Nicholas Day was again celebrated on December 6, 1811, when that busiest of public servants, Lieutenant Governor DeWitt Clinton (he had also been Mayor of New York, 1803–07, 1808–10, and State Senator, 1798–1802, 1806–11,) delivered a valuable address on the New York Indians[7] "before the Society, the Members of the Corporation of this City, and a respectable audience of Ladies and Gentlemen," and then the members and their guests "adjourned to celebrate their anniversary Dinner, at [Rudolphus] Kent's Hotel, 42 Broad Street [better known to us as Fraunces Tavern], at 4 o'clock."

During the war years of 1812 and 1813 men's minds were on other things than the study of ancient history. Peter Stuyvesant seemed far away and not very important when the British fleet might sail into the harbor and bombard the city at any moment. But still a few devoted members kept the Society together, a few meetings were held and the anniversary orations took place as usual with Gouverneur Morris as the speaker in 1812 and Samuel L. Mitchill in 1813. In fact, the Society became so jittery that its library was packed up and removed from the all-too-conspicuous Government House. "In 1812, when the war was declared, the entire collection of books and manuscripts was so inconsiderable, that one or two cart loads were all that we had to transfer from one place of safety to another, apprehensive that by invasion the enemy might possess the city."[8]

The Society was, meanwhile, adding more members to its lls and more books to its library shelves and, consequently, its ngle room in the Government House was becoming cramped. Mr. Pintard bethought himself of the old Alms House and the ridewell, in the Park, which were about to be abandoned and eir inmates moved to more commodious quarters at Bellevue. e therefore wrote a letter to his friend Mayor De Witt Clinton, August 28, 1812, suggesting that one of the abandoned buildgs be turned over to a group of cultural institutions, including e Historical Society, and, if possible, with the patronage of the ity. This letter has the following endorsement: "Memo. Mr. linton, on reading this communication, observed 'that the reiest was too impudent to be submitted to the Corporation!'" it that did not faze Mr. Pintard in the least and, on December venth the Society renewed its request. Three years later the ity fathers relented and Mr. Pintard's prayer was answered.[9]

In the meantime the Reverend Timothy Alden, a Boston reacher, teacher, and local antiquary who was later to be the under and first President of Allegheny College, happened to in town and, having compiled the first catalogue of the Massausetts Historical Society, of which he was then Librarian, fered to do a like service for our Society. The officers agreed ith alacrity, for by this time the Society's library contained arly 5,000 books and pamphlets, partial files of 130 newspapers, d over 150 maps, charts and prints, besides a considerable colction of manuscripts and several oil portraits. A catalogue ould make the resources of the Library more readily available scholars and would advertise the Society's needs. The catague was compiled at once and promptly printed.[10]

With the exception of the purchase of the libraries of Mr. ntard and Reverend Timothy Alden (including the file of the *oston News Letter*), practically all of the Society's collections this period came as gifts, all duly entered in the *Record of onations*, which shows that the officers and members were ry generous, also that many books came from their authors or

publishers, from the bookstores and newspaper offices of the city, and from friendly non-members. There was, very naturally, a strong leaning towards sermons and medical pamphlets, for the clergy and the doctors of the city made up a considerable part of the membership. There were also many scarce Revolutionary tracts and a surprising number of titles of the greatest rarity and importance.

On October 11, 1790, Mr. Pintard wrote to Dr. Jeremy Belknap of Boston, thanking him for a copy of the second edition of John Eliot's translation of the Bible into the language of the Massachusetts Indians, printed at Cambridge in 1680 and 1685.[11] This was placed by Mr. Pintard in the museum he was then forming for the Tammany Society but when he withdrew from that enterprise, he evidently took the Indian Bible with him for, on January 4, 1810, he presented it to our Society, with a considerable collection of other titles including Franklin's famous edition of *Cato Major*, 1744. Pintard had already given us a much rarer and far more important item, one of the three known copies of the James Lyne Survey of the City of New York, the first plan of the city published here. It was printed by William Bradford, probably in 1731, and is generally known as the Bradford Map. He also gave us both the large and small Ratzer maps of the city of 1776, the large map being in the second state (we have since secured a copy of the first state) and the smaller map in the first state, and John Filson's *Map of Kentucke*, Philadelphia, 1784. All of these treasures are entered in the Library's first catalogue, together with such others as the rare first edition of Joannes de Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt*, 1625, and the second edition of Adriaen van der Donck's *Beschryvinge van Niew-Nederlant*, 1656, two of the most important books on Dutch New York. It is also pleasant to see in the *Record of Donations* this entry: "Knickerbocker's History of New York [presented] by the Author." This is the dedication copy of Irving's famous history of 1809. It is a temptation to mention in detail the dozen American seventeenth-century imprints and the many rare eighteenth-

ntury tracts also in the first catalogue, but we cannot leave this scinating subject without speaking of two of our chief news- per treasures: our file of the *Boston News Letter*, the first 209 sues of America's first newspaper (our file is now much larger d extends, with gaps, down to 1775), including the first mber which may be seen in but three other libraries; and our e of New York's first newspaper, Bradford's *New-York azette*, a partial run from 1730 to 1736 (we now have an im- rfect file from 1727 to 1741 which is one of the two best files this great rarity).

Having failed to secure State support through our association ith the wolves and panthers, the Society made a more successful rect appeal for patronage through a memorial prepared and troduced into the Senate by DeWitt Clinton. On April 15, 14, a bill was passed granting the right to raise, by means of a ttery, the sum of $12,000 "to be paid to the Historical Society the City of New York for the purpose of procuring books, anuscripts and other materials to illustrate the natural, literary, vil and ecclesiastical history of America."

"The Society unluckily engaged its credit in the purchase of oks and of manuscripts ere it was known how distant and pre- rious were the proceeds of this mode of raising money. It hus] became involved in a debt which was not extinguished ithout many and severe sacrifices."[12] "The debt incurred by the ciety in anticipation of the funds to be received from the ttery amounted to several thousand dollars, and was chiefly sumed by the then librarian, Dr. John W. Francis, to whom a ortgage on the property of the Society was executed by way of curity. At length, after a long-continued struggle with cuniary embarrassments and difficulties, an arrangement was tered into with Union College, by which the Society agreed to ke $8,000, in cash for its lottery interest, out of which sum, in 23, the debts were paid."[13]

However, in 1814, with money borrowed in anticipation the expected windfall from the lottery, the Society bought

numerous additions to its collections and paid for printing the library catalogue and the second volume of its *Collections*. This volume contained the anniversary discourses of 1810 through 1813 by Messrs. Hugh Williamson, DeWitt Clinton, Gouverneur Morris, and Samuel L. Mitchill; the Tonty narrative of La Salle's last expedition, reprinted from the London edition of 1698; an extract of a translation of the Thomas Campanius Holm history of New Sweden, from the Stockholm edition of 1702; and the Library's catalogue which had already been issued from the same type as a separate.

By August of 1814 the city was again becoming very nervous over the possibility of bombardment and occupation by the British fleet and so the more valuable books of the Society's library were once more packed up in portable boxes ready for removal from the city should the necessity arise. The books were not unpacked until the Society moved to the "New York Institution, late Alms House," in 1816. This precaution seems strangely familiar to those of us who remember the similar measures taken for the safety of our chief treasures during the two World Wars. These were indeed uneasy days for the Society's library for, on May 26, 1815, the City sold the Government House at auction and the Society was forced to vacate its room forthwith. As usual, the responsibility rested on Mr. Pintard and his loyal young associate, Dr. John W. Francis, the Librarian. The agitation of Mr. Pintard is very evident from the following letter, preserved in our archives, written the very day of the sale of the building:

My dear friend Francis

Let me intreat you to get our Historical So[ciety] Library out of the way. There will be the very devil to pay after tomorrow. & let the gods and goddesses [the sculptures belonging to the Academy of Arts] take care of themselves. You nor I cannot do everything. I am sorry to impose this burden solely on you, but my young friend [Pintard was then 56 and Francis 26 years old] you know not what a perfect galley slave I am.

Surely you can trespass on the College of Physicians a little. [He was

LOCATION MAP OF THE SOCIETY'S FIRST SEVEN HOMES

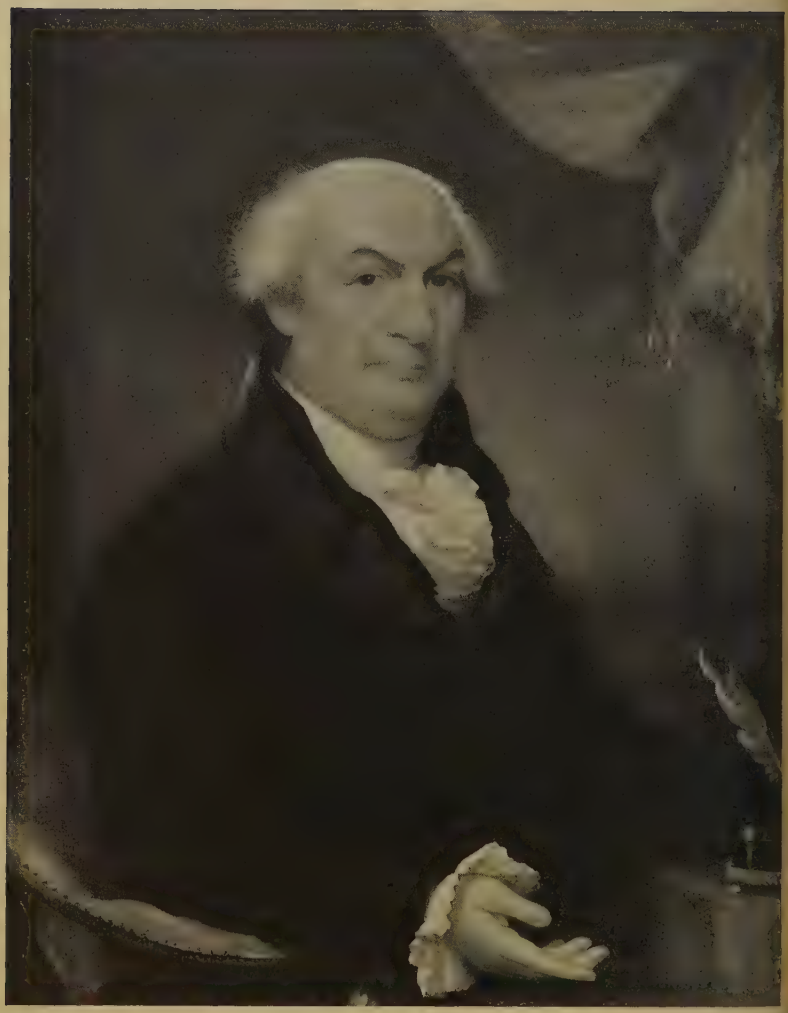
lecturer at the College.] I will engage to obtain an apartment if we are ıccessful in the Alms House in September.

Exert yourself once more my good young friend & do not let us ıccomb.

Yʳˢ Sincerely

Jew Yᵏ 26th May [18]15 J. PINTARD

Mr. Pintard reported later to the Society that the library was emporarily housed in the store of Captain James Farquhar in Vesey Street, together with the pictures, casts, busts, etc., be-ɔnging to the Academy of Arts, so the gods and goddesses were ot abandoned after all.



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS (1752–1816)

Second President of the Society, 1816
By Ezra Ames (1768–1836)

Gift of Stephen Van Rensselaer, 1817

R. W. G. Vail

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS (1752–1816)

SECOND PRESIDENT (1816)

Gouverneur Morris, statesman, orator and diplomat, was born and died at the manor house at Morrisania, New York. He graduated from King's College in 1768, became a lawyer but spent most of his life in the service of his State and nation. He was an outstanding member of the Provincial Congress of 1775; of the State Constitutional Convention of 1776 where, with Jay and Robert R. Livingston, he framed the first constitution; of the Council of Safety and of the Continental Congress in 1778 and 1779. He was assistant to Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance, and a member of the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787 in which he was very prominent. He was in Europe for ten years beginning with 1789 and was the leading American in France during the French Revolution. His diary for this period has been published and is a classic. In 1792 Morris became Minister to France under Washington for four years. He returned to America and served briefly in the United States Senate in 1800–1803. In later life he was an opponent of the Embargo and the War of 1812 and became embittered over the rule of the Republicans in Washington. He was a strong advocate of the Erie Canal and chairman of the Canal Commission of the State. Morris joined The New-York Historical Society in 1809. His charming letter acknowledging election as a member will be found in the later chapter: A Distinguished Company. Morris served as First Vice-President of the Society from 1810 to 1815 and as President from January 9, 1816, until his death on November 6th of that year. The Society owns his oil portrait by Ezra Ames and his wooden leg, believe it or not!

EGBERT BENSON, who was then seventy years old, declined reëlection as President of the Society in 1816 and Gouverneur Morris became our second President. He was inaugurated with fitting ceremony on September 4th and his inaugural address appeared in our *Collections*, Vol. III, 1821, p. 35–40. This and his anniversary address of 1812, which appeared in the previous volume of *Collections*, were Morris's only contributions to our publications and, in spite of his great interest in the Society, he did not preside at any of our meetings during his short presidency. However, his election to that office gave the Society considerable prestige and, after his death, Mrs. Morris gave us many important books from his library.

After many delays John Pintard's dream for a home for the cultural interests of the community came true. The former occupants of the old Alms House (on the north side of City Hall Park on Chambers Street with its main entrance on Broadway) were moved to new quarters at Bellevue, the old building was renovated, renamed the New York Institution, and was shortly occupied by the Historical Society, the American Academy of Fine Arts, the Lyceum of Natural History, the Literary and Philosophical Society, and John Scudder's American Museum. Fitz-Greene Halleck recorded the event in the 68th stanza of *Fanny:*

> To bless the hour the Corporation took it
> Into their heads to give the rich in brains,
> The worn-out mansion of the poor in pocket.

The Society still has the original ten-year lease for the premises, signed by Mayor Jacob Radcliff, May 13, 1816, which stipulates that the rental should be "the yearly rent of one peppercorn, if lawfully demanded." It was a plain three-story-and-basement brick building, 260 by 44 feet in size, with two 15- by 20-foot projections on the Broadway front. The Society eventually secured four rooms on the first floor, together with storage space in the basement.

Mr. Pintard was in his element! On June 10th he wrote to his daughter:[14]

> We have at length obtained possession of the Alms House, and I am now engaged in preparing the apartments for the Historical Society, which are ample and will accomodate us handsomely. I shall hereafter confine all my attentions to that child of my own, having blistered my hands and broken down my strength in tugging at every oar, and am resolved to be a galley slave no longer. I have by indefatigable labor, obtained a local habitation for our several scientific societies, and shall leave each, hereafter, to take care of itself, but will render any aid by counsel or general superintendance. . . . [*On June 12th he wrote:*] I take a pleasure in completing and bringing to life once more this embryo of a very valuable institution and legacy to posterity. It is astonishing what a fund of Historical materials have been collected already. [*He continued on June 25th:*] My silence has been owing to the incessant occupation

THIRD HOME OF THE SOCIETY, 1816–1832

The New York Institution, City Hall Park

Lithograph, c. 1825, at The New-York Historical Society

ıave had in preparing the apartments and removing and setting up the brary of the N. York Historical Society, the whole duty of which s rested on my shoulders, with the aid of my good friend Mr. [John] udder of the Museum, whose gratitude would not allow him to see e toiling all alone. Thank God with perseverance I have surmounted e most difficult part of the labour. The arrangement and classification the Library will be rather an amusement than otherwise to fill up the ank hours of these summer afternoons.

The Society met for the first time in its new home on July 9, 816, and Mr. Pintard reported the renovation of the rooms, ating "That he had removed the books from Mr. Farquhar's Vare House where they had been deposited the last year and ıat the Library was, as the members observed, partially ar- nged, the books requiring to be aired, being very damp and oulded after being cased up for two years."

He then reported one of the most important gifts ever received by the Society's Library. General Horatio Gates (1728?–1806) had bequeathed his Revolutionary War papers to Joel Barlow who had planned to write a history of the war but who died before it could be accomplished. Through the influence of Robert Fulton, Mrs. Barlow had given the Gates papers to our Society but they were in Fulton's hands when he, too, died. Mrs. Fulton had recently sent them to the Society and Mr. Pintard was having a wonderful time arranging them. It is a pleasure to record that the Gates Papers have been of great aid to historians ever since and at the present time, 138 years later, they (and all other known Gates papers) are being edited for publication by our Society so that this mass of important Revolutionary information may be more readily available to scholars the country over.

Mr. Pintard's arduous labors had not been overlooked by the Society for, on October 12th, in recognition of "his long continued, faithful and important services," he was requested to sit for his portrait and John Trumbull, who had recently joined the Society, was selected to paint it. This handsome portrait, completed the following year, is now one of our chief treasures. The Society was also anxious to secure a portrait of its late President, Gouverneur Morris, and the following year Stephen Van Rensselaer presented the splendid oil portrait by Ezra Ames which graces our gallery of Revolutionary worthies. It is pleasant to record that, in 1816, we also received an engraving of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, the gift of Thomas Miller, "a Freeman of Colour."

On December 4th Mr. Pintard wrote to his daughter: "I propose giving up the trusteeship of the [New York Society] Library next Spring and thus gradually resign all my blushing honours except the New York Historical Society which I shall cherish till my last day."

At this time he had four paying positions: Secretary of the Mutual Insurance Company, secretary of "The Steamboat," clerk of the Sailor's Snug Harbor, and Recording Secretary of

e American Bible Society. He also held the following "honor-
le" positions: Secretary of the American Academy of Fine
rts, Recording Secretary of our Society, Curator of the Liter-
y and Philosophical Society, Trustee of the City [New York
ciety] Library, Treasurer of the Episcopal [General] Theo-
gical [Seminary] Library, Director of the Saving Bank, and
estryman of St. Esprit, the French Huguenot Church. No
onder he wanted to shorten sail!

DE WITT CLINTON (1769–1828)

THIRD PRESIDENT (1817–1819)

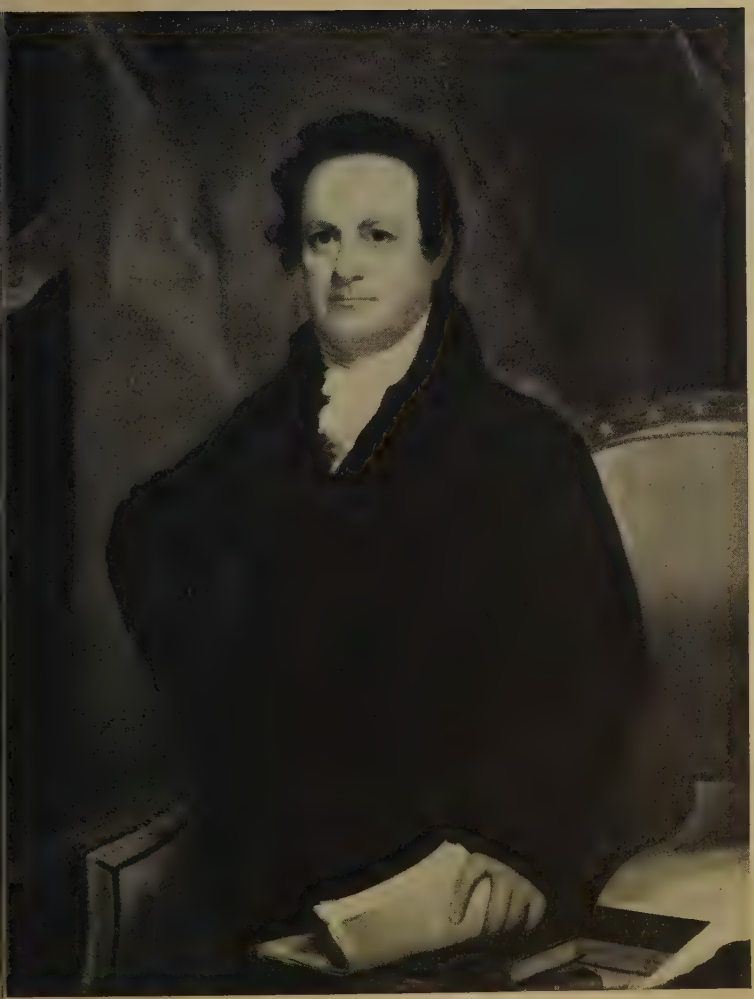
e Witt Clinton, scholar, lawyer, statesman, was born at Little Britain,
ew York, and educated at Columbia. He became a lawyer but practiced
tle, his time being largely occupied with public affairs. He began his
reer as a public servant as secretary to his uncle, Governor George
linton, and became a member of the New York Assembly in 1798 and
nate, 1798–1802 and *1806–1811. He was United States Senator, 1802–*
, one of the best mayors New York City ever had, 1803–1807,
08–1810, 1811–1815. He was defeated for the Presidency by Madison
1812 and, in spite of political opposition, was an excellent Governor
New York State, 1817–1821 and 1825–1828. Clinton was an outstand-
g student, for his day, of natural science, a leader in City and State
cial and educational institutions in several of which he held office. He
as the father of the New York canal system and was largely responsible
r the building of the Erie Canal. He was one of the founders of our
ciety, a member of its Standing Committee from 1808 to 1809, Second
ice-President, 1810 to 1815, First Vice-President, 1816, and President,
17–1819. He delivered a valuable address on the Indians of New York
fore our Society which was published separately in 1811 and reprinted
our Collections for 1814. He was principally responsible for our act of
corporation by the State in 1809 and for the raising of a fund for the
ciety by State lottery in 1814. Throughout his active life he was one
the best friends the Society ever had. The Society has his oil portraits
y George Catlin, Charles C. Ingham, and two by John Wesley Jarvis.

FROM 1816 to 1819 the nation grew under the Presidency of James Monroe, with New York's Daniel D. Tompkins as Vice-President. Alabama became a Territory and then a State,

Arkansas a Territory and Illinois, Indiana and Mississippi became States. East and West Florida were ceded to the United States by Spain. The Seminole War began, steamboats appeared on Lakes Ontario and Erie, and work was begun on the Erie Canal. Revolutionary veterans were given pensions, Baltimore was the first city to be lighted by gas, and Boston started a savings bank. In this period the tin can came to America, the cookstove and iron plow were invented and, in 1819, a four-year business panic began and so did the serial publication of Irving's *Sketch Book*.

During his presidency of the Society De Witt Clinton was also Governor of the State and so it is not surprising that public business made it impossible for him to be present at many of our meetings. In fact, he was able to preside only four times during his term of office as President but it was of no little importance to the Society to have such an influential friend at Albany and the fact that the Governor was also our President did much to enhance our standing in the community.

Since the Society originally expected to be given only two rooms in the New York Institution, it was a great cause of satisfaction to secure the use of two additional rooms across the hall. This made it possible to begin the collecting of natural history specimens in real earnest and with Governor Clinton, Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, and Colonel George Gibbs, three of the keenest students of natural science in the country, among our members, it was but natural that, for the time being at least, this department of our collecting should have been advanced with enthusiasm. At the annual meeting on February 11, 1817, special committees were appointed for the collecting of Zoology, Botany and Vegetable Physiology, Mineralogy and Fossils, Coins and Medals, Manuscripts, and Books. Cabinets were built in the two new rooms for the display of the museum objects; printed letters of appeal were issued March 11, 1817, by the Mineralogical and Zoological committees and on April 8th by the Botanical committee and vigorously circulated for the purpose of building up their respective departments and for several years



DE WITT CLINTON (1769–1828)

Third President of the Society, 1817–1819
By John Wesley Jarvis, *c.* 1816–1820

Gift of the Heirs of Samuel S. Howland, 1854

the specimens poured in, not the least of which was the herbarium of Dr. Samuel Bard. Interest in the natural sciences was further stimulated by a series of lectures established February 11, 1817, and "the growth of this department became so large, and predominated over the real purposes of the Society to such an extent that in 1829 it was decided to present the collection to the Lyceum of Natural History, organized February 24, 1817, for the exclusive pursuit of those branches of science."[15] Thus early we realized that our Society, though first in the field, could not hope to take the entire sum of human knowledge for its province.

The American Bible Society had been invited to share our rooms for the holding of its meetings and, perhaps inspired by the success of our growing library, decided to begin a collection of Bibles. On hearing of their intentions, our Society generously voted, in 1817, to present to them our collection of early Dutch and French Bibles. Not wishing to be outstripped in collecting zeal by the natural science enthusiasts, the library committees issued a circular of their own on June 10th (which, however, was dated March, 1817) appealing for gifts of books and manuscripts, many of which were received. We were also given oil portraits of John Jay by Joseph Wright, of Lafayette by or after Joseph Boze, and of Robert Morris by Jarvis after Stuart, a chair which had belonged to Marie Antoinette, the latter the gift of Mrs. Gouverneur Morris, and the Congressional medal awarded to Isaac Van Wart for his share in the capture of Major André. We later secured the similar medal awarded to Paulding, and that given to Williams is now owned by the Sleepy Hollow Restorations at Tarrytown where the capture took place.

Of course Mr. Pintard was delighted with all of these successes and he had to write to his daughter about them:

June 27, 1817 . . . . Our Institution, the progress of which outstrips all my most sanguine expectations. The Mineralogical Cabinet especially attracts every visitor and receives high applause. I am sure that you will rejoice to understand that the unceasing efforts of your father to promote this Institution has proved so successful. You witnessed my struggles

most against hope, and should it ever be your lot again to visit your tive city, should I be no more, I flatter myself the Institution will re- ain a monument of my useful existence. [*By 1832 the Institution was more and its various learned societies scattered.*] I share however common with many worthy coadjutors, particularly Dr. Hosack, the ide and gratification attending successful effort. Nor ought my noble end Mr. Clinton be omitted whose constant support and encourage- ent urged my perseverance, and whose future patronage will extend r ability to do greater good. [*On August 11 he explained that:*] The eneral Mineral Repository is divided into cabinets with glass doors r every state in the Union. [*But on December 16 he explained:*] I bend y chief efforts towards procuring the documents relative to that period he Revolutionary War], of which I know the full value, and the col- ctions already made will prove a most important legacy to posterity. *His pride of parenthood broke forth again in his letter of January 13, 18:*] I wish to withdraw myself progressively from every other asso- ation than the Historical [Society], the bantling I have brot into the orld and which alone I shall consider myself bound to cherish. It is onderfully progressive and our Library, if it goes on as at present, will on become extremely valuable both as to merit and rarity. My energies ill be exerted at Albany to obtain additional support. I know that it easier to project than to execute and the marvel will be if we succeed. *He continued this subject in his letter of January 26, 1818:*] My object to get a grant of $1,000. to each of the three societies in the N.Y. stitution for ten years, which patronage is due and if obtained will ake us flourish.[10]

[*Pintard continued:*] It is our object to make our Library one of search for all that is curious and valuable . . . . [It] may become like e extensive Libraries of the Old World inestimably valuable to the udite Scholar. To have had a hand in the foundation of such a Library ill be, hereafter, no small praise. [*He continued the same theme in his tter of May 4th:*] In the Institution . . . my sole remaining office is at of Recording Secretary to the Historical Society and that is more an enough. But this being my own brat I am in duty bound to nurse In a few years I hope it will be out of leading strings when my care ill no longer be required.

Mr. Pintard had never wanted top honors in the Society for mself. His deafness, added to a natural shyness, made him con- nt to stay in the background where he could do the planning nd the hard work while he pushed forward the loyal friends ho had worked with him from the beginning in the promotion the Society's interests. Among them none had been more de-

voted than Dr. David Hosack, the First Vice-President, and Dr. John W. Francis, the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian. At the annual meeting of January 12, 1819, the President and Vice-Presidents were unfortunately absent and the conceited and pushing Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill of the Standing Committee presided. Of the twenty-eight members present, eleven were doctors and when the votes were counted it appeared that Dr. Mitchill had replaced Dr. Hosack as First Vice-President and Dr. Lyman Spalding had been elected Corresponding Secretary in place of Dr. Francis who, after eighteen years, was also replaced as Librarian by Reverend Frederick C. Schaeffer. Mr. Pintard was hurt and angry that the medical group which had had no previous part in running the Society should have ousted his two most generous co-workers, thus putting Dr. Mitchill in line for the Presidency, an honor which, however, he never achieved. Mr. Pintard, in a letter of January 11th to his daughter, told the story thus:

> An intrigue at the election of the Historical Society last evening has quite chagrined me, Dr. Hosack being left out as First Vice-President and Francis as Corresponding Secretary owing to medical cabals. *Genus irritabile* is the physicians' motto. I shall gradually withdraw from the Institution and hereafter devote what talents I may possess and time to spare to our benevolent Societies.

Further evidences of intrigue having developed, Mr. Pintard wrote wrathfully to his faithful aid, Dr. Francis, on January 14th:[17]

> Dear Francis:
>
> Doctor Paschalis [never a member of the Society] called at noon and asked me whether it would not be proper to elect Mr. [Cadwallader D.] Colden one of the Vice Presidents. I asked him in whose place—he shrugged up his shoulders. I frankly told him that I should not be there, as I was preengaged. This is evidence of another intrigue against our friend Hosack. I have imparted the above to [James] Eastburn [of the Standing Committee] and called on [Thomas R.] Mercein to enjoin him to attend which he has promised. I regret extremely that family etiquette, which I can noways dispense with, should interfere with my duty to

r friend. I am no sycophant nor time server in the sunshine of pros-rity but in the day of persecution I will always step forward to wend a blow. Be assured that I feel more mortification at these cabals and tances of base ingratitude than I have power to express. But let us ep cool and chew the end of reflection. We shall be better able to ike with effect when our blow is deliberately and surely aimed.

Your sincere friend

J. PINTARD

If I can elope [from the family engagement] you may see me on the ena. I regret this apparent desertion in the hour of danger—no part of y stomach nor character.

Evidently Mr. Pintard succeeded in eloping from the family rty, for he was present at the February meeting along with his iends Hosack, Francis, and Eastburn, and so the opposition iled to accomplish their ends. However, former Mayor Cad-allader D. Colden, then a member of Congress, was elected rst Vice-President for 1821, the only office he ever held in the ciety. Mr. Pintard was still in the thick of it when he wrote s daughter on January 25th:

> . . . the annual election for officers of the Literary and Philosophical ciety where an intrigue, as in the Historical Society, was intended to it down Hosack, which was frustrated. I moreover declined being ndidate for the Treasurer's Office as I am resolved to divest myself the barren honours and propose at the next meeting of the Historical resign the office of Recording Secretary [*which he had held since 05 and which he resigned at the end of 1819*] provided there being a obability of electing Dr. Francis [*who was not elected to that office, e honor going to Dr. John B. Beck for 1820 through 1822*], who [Dr. ancis] by the way was chosen Corresponding Secretary of the ilosophical Society, an honourable station which affords some balance r the ingratitude of the Historical. It is thirteen years since the estab-hment of this Society during which period I have performed the mble tho' essential duties of Recording Secretary. I shall retain for is year and longer if not too irksome the office of Treasurer, which w will covet. [*He was treasurer from 1819 through 1827 when he signed at the age of 68*].

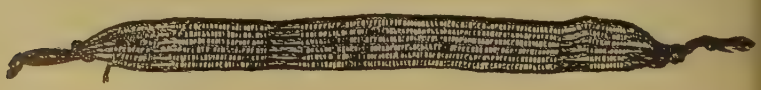
The Society had originally met quarterly with special meetings

from time to time but, on October 8, 1816, it began to meet monthly and has continued to do so, except in the summer months, ever since. The size and usefulness of the library had grown to such an extent by September 8, 1818, that it was found necessary to hire Mr. Stephen B. Hutchings, "a young man of probity and well known to some members," as Sub Librarian at the princely salary of $100 per year for which he was to serve each Wednesday and Saturday afternoon from three to six. He was the Society's first paid employee.

Since college students are apt to be somewhat obstreperous, it was unfortunate that the Anniversary Discourse of the Society for 1819 was held at the College of Physicians. Mr. Pintard sputtered about it to his daughter in his letter of December 20th.:

> At eleven this day the Anniversary discourse of the New York Historical Society by the Reverend Doctor [Samuel Farmer] Jarvis (of which I will send a copy for I did not hear a word [*he being so deaf*]) was delivered in the Hall of the College of Physicians, very injudiciously, for a set of young drawcansirs [name of a blustering, bragging character in Villiers's burlesque *The Rehearsal* (*Oxford Dictionary*)], in the midst of the discourse rushed in and interrupted the Reverend Orator. Savages would have observed more decorum. The discourse occupied above an hour and a half.

This discourse on the religion of the Indian tribes of North America was long, learned, and dry and, with its notes, occupies 85 pages of the third volume of the Society's *Collections*. The interruption of the young drawcansirs may well have formed a welcome diversion to the "large assembly of ladies and gentlemen" who sat through it and it may be that Mr. Pintard's ire resulted from the students having suddenly awakened him from a comfortable nap. The Society was more forgiving than its founder, for it voted its thanks to the College of Physicians for the use of its Hall, with no reference to the young drawcansirs.



R. W. G. Vail

DR. DAVID HOSACK (1769–1835)

FOURTH PRESIDENT (1820–1827)

DAVID HOSACK (1769–1835)
Fourth President, 1820–1827
John H. I. Browere (1790–1834)
ft of John Wakefield Francis, 1832

David Hosack was the most distinguished New York physician and teacher of medicine and botany of his day. Graduating from Princeton in 1789, he studied medicine with the most eminent doctors of New York and Philadelphia and secured his medical degree in the latter city in 1791. He practiced briefly in Alexandria, Virginia. In 1792 he continued his studies in Edinburgh, then the greatest medical center of the British Isles, and went from there to London where he continued his studies, including botany and mineralogy, until 1794. On his return to New York he became professor of botany and materia medica at Columbia College until 1811 when he resigned to become professor of physic in the College of Physicians and Surgeons where he remained until 1822 when the entire faculty resigned to found the Rutgers Medical College of which Dr. Hosack was President until 1830. He was principal founder of Bellevue Hospital in 1820; with Dr. John W. Francis established the American Medical and Philosophical Register, 1810–1814; and wrote many standard works on medicine and several works in American history and biography. Dr. Hosack had a large private practice, first with Dr. Samuel Bard and later with his former pupil, Dr. John W. Francis, as partner. He founded the Elgin Botanical Garden and was prominent in every historical, literary, artistic, and philanthropic enterprise in his native city. It was said that DeWitt Clinton, Bishop Hobart, and Dr. Hosack "were the tripod upon which our city stood." Dr. Hosack was one of the founders of our Society, served on its Standing Committee, 1805–1813, as its Corresponding Secretary, 1814–1816, Second Vice-President, 1817, First Vice-President, 1818, and President, 1820–1827. His Biographical Memoir of Hugh Williamson and his Inaugural Address as President were published in the third volume of our Collections in 1821 and as separates. The Society owns an oil portrait of Dr. Hosack by A. G. Heaton after John Trumbull and a plaster bust by J. H. I. Browere.

DR. HOSACK was our President for seven years. During this period James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins were re-elected President and Vice-President of the nation of nine and a half million people and were followed by John Quincy Adams and John C. Calhoun, and former Presidents Thomas Jefferson and John Adams died on the Fourth of July 1826— all of them members of our Society. The Monroe Doctrine was declared; the Government built its first lighthouses; Maine and Missouri became States; Florida became a Territory with Andrew Jackson as Governor; Mexico won its independence from Spain and allowed Moses Austin's colony to settle in Texas; and Liberia was founded. The Erie Canal was completed with a great celebration; Maryland, Ohio, and Pennsylvania began canal building; the first American-made locomotive was built by John Stevens; the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was incorporated; and ninety per-cent of American shipping was carried in American bottoms. Joseph Dixon invented a machine for the manufacture of lead pencils; Boston began the first American high school; the *Youth's Companion* commenced its hundred years of publication; Cooper published *The Pioneers*, first of the *Leatherstocking Tales;* the Hudson River School of Painting was founded by Thomas Cole and Asher B. Durand; and the National Academy of Design was established with Samuel F. B. Morse as President. The Anti-Masonic Party, American Temperance Society, and American Home Missionary Society came into being; and Lafayette came back to visit America.

Governor Clinton and Mr. Pintard having notified the Society on December 14, 1819, that they did not care to stand for re-ëlection as President and Recording Secretary at the annual meeting on January 11, 1820, the latter and his cohorts decided that this was the time to "strike with effect" their blow "de-liberately and surely aimed." When the votes were counted it was found that Dr. Mitchill and his "medical cabal" had been routed, for Dr. David Hosack was President, Dr. Francis a mem-ber of the Standing Committee, and Mr. Pintard reëlected as

asurer. Mr. Pintard, writing to his daughter on January 15th, this to say about the election of officers: "I have not time to give an account of the shameful intrigues at the election of Historical and Philosophical Societies which have recoiled the heads of his [DeWitt Clinton's] envenomed impotent s."

But that stubborn, stuffy young Dutchman, Gulian Crom- in Verplanck, member of the State Assembly and political my of Clinton, who fancied himself a scholar and literateur, s obviously of the opposition party and he decided to have his enge for the defeat of his candidate. So, in order to vent his e on the far abler Dr. Hosack of whom he seems to have been tely jealous, he privately printed for circulation among his gruntled friends an amusing burlesque of the "ceremony of installation of David Hosack, M.D., LL.D., DD." as Presi- nt of the Society; in it he concocted a pompous and highly iculous ritual, liberally sprinkled with hog Latin, and mention- in unflattering terms the Governor of the State and other rthies of the Society. It was really quite an amusing jeu sprit, but Mr. Pintard did not approve, for it probably brought th roars of laughter at the expense of his greatest heroes. The pposedly anonymous author gave himself the pleasure of in- ibing a copy: *For the New York Historical Society* and when r. Pintard had perused it with mounting wrath he wrote on title page, believing that it was hardly the thing for a member the Society's Standing Committee to have perpetrated: "It's ill bird that bewrays its own nest. En.[glish] Proverb." Being a somewhat prissy nature, he could not quite bring himself to ote the proverb correctly, so he substituted *bewray* for *befoul* ich was, of course, what he had in mind.[18]

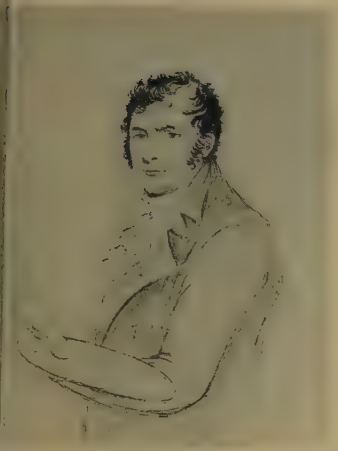
In spite of constant worries over finances, Dr. Hosack's ad- nistration tried to carry on the normal activities of the Society. lf a dozen public addresses were delivered and volumes three d four of the *Collections* were published, the first, issued in 21, containing addresses before the Society and miscellaneous

historical papers, being printed at the expense of the printer, and the second, the continuation of William Smith's history of New York from 1732 to 1762, being published by subscription in 1826. The latter, together with the original work of which it was a continuation, appeared as Volume IV, part 2 and Volume V, in 1829. The complete history was separately reprinted in two volumes in 1830 and is still available at $15.00.

On August 8, 1820, committees were appointed to prepare an official seal and a diploma for the Society. The seal was executed, at a cost of $50.00 by "Mr. Parjeaux" whose name appears in anglicized form in the New York directories for 1820–1822 as "L.[ouis] E. Pajot, Engraver of medals," and, in the minutes, when finally paid in 1823, as "J.E. Pigot & Co.," which, however, is probably incorrect. The correct American form of his name was probably Louis E. Pajot, as printed in the directory. This seal was officially adopted December 11, 1821, and is still in use.

The vignette of Hudson's ship, the *Half Moon*, with the palisades in the background, at the head of the Society's diploma, was drawn by a distinguished amateur painter, Louis Simon (1767–1831) who, according to the *Biographie Universelle*, came to the United States from France in 1792, visited in Great Britain, 1810–1811, returned to New York and remained until 1815 when he returned to his native country. While in New York he was a merchant and auctioneer. He joined our Society in 1812. The Society owns a crayon portrait of him by the Baroness Hyde de Neuville, 1810, and one of his wife, after Reynolds. The Society or one of its members must have owned the original drawing of the *Half Moon* before the artist returned to France in 1815 since it was not reproduced until 1820 when it was engraved by Asher B. Durand as a gift to the Society. For this, Durand was rewarded by being made an Honorary Member. This diploma is still in use for life members. Several of our most important oil portraits are from his brush.

The Society held no meetings from August to October 1822 "in consequence of the prevelance of the yellow fever in this



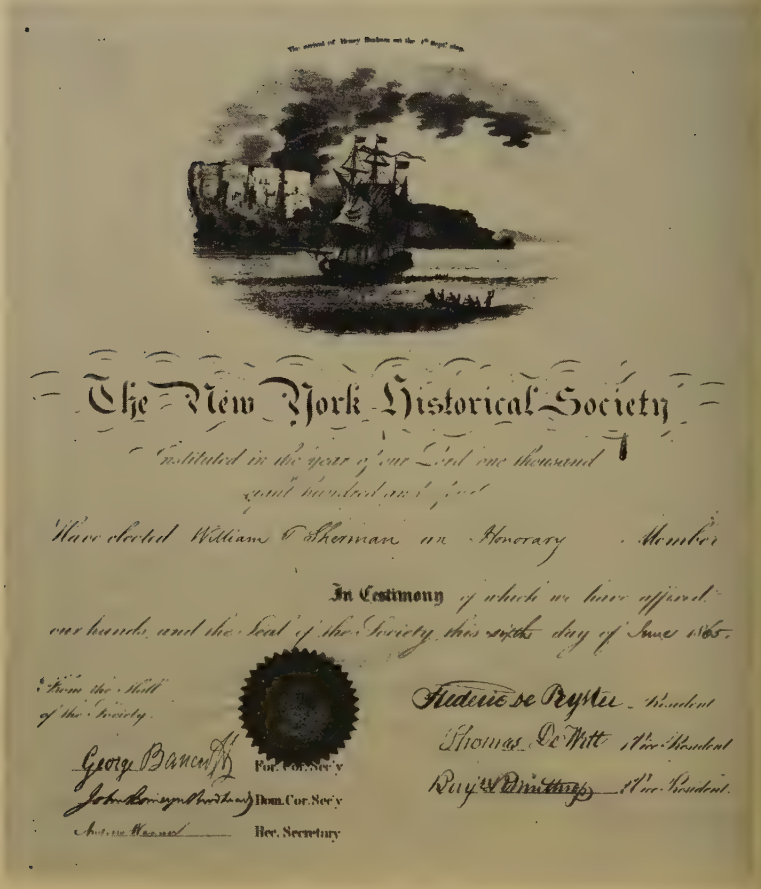
LOUIS SIMOND (1767–1831)
Baroness Hyde de Neuville, 1810
ew-York Historical Society, 1953

ASHER B. DURAND (1796–1886)
By Eliab Metcalf (1785–1834)
Gift of Durand's granddaughter, 1918

iis Simond, who designed the vignette of the Society's membership certificate is a previously unrecorded New York City painter and merchant, came to New k in 1792 and returned to France in 1815; he was elected to membership in the iety in 1812. Durand, who engraved the vignette, was a founder, 1826, and sident, 1846–1861, of the National Academy of Design.

y." It is hard for us to imagine the constant menace of this curring scourge which so often swept through the city, bring- everything to a standstill and wiping out large numbers of r people. We cheered up considerably in the Summer of 1823 ien we were able to sell our interest in the State lottery to nion College for $8,000 and pay most of our debts and, of urse, the visit of Lafayette and his induction as an Honorary mber of the Society on August 18, 1824, (described in a later apter) was the one really bright spot in an otherwise gloomy ture.

Early in 1824 a special committee to look into the finances of e Society reported a debt of nearly $10,000 and said: "The mmittee confesses their entire inability to devise any means to uidate a debt of this magnitude." Every possible economy was


The New York Historical Society
Instituted in the year of our Lord one thousand
and hundred and
Have elected William T. Sherman an Honorary Member
In Testimony of which we have affixed
our hands, and the Seal of the Society, this sixth day of June 1865.
From the Hall
of the Society
For. Cor. Secry
Dom. Cor. Secry
Rec. Secretary
Frederic de Peyster President
Thomas De Witt Vice-President
Vice-President

GEN. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN'S CERTIFICATE
AS HONORARY MEMBER, JUNE 6, 1865

Vignette inscribed: "L[ouis] Simond *del.* A[sher] B. Durand *Sc.*" [1821]

ed to save further expense. The position of Sub Librarian was olished and the library closed; a partially successful effort was ade to collect funds due the Society and fees were raised but, April 1825, they still owed $7,500 including $3,000 each to r. Pintard and Dr. Francis and $1,500 of an old loan from the ashington Insurance Company. In December 1824 it had been ggested that the libraries of Columbia College, the New York ciety Library, the Associates of the New York Athenaeum, d our library combine to form one great public library but thing came of this proposal. Another attempt to combine the sources of eight of the city's learned societies in the old New rk Institution building, with City support, failed in 1827. Early in 1825 it was proposed that the Society sell its library to y its debts. This, of course, raised a storm of protest both in and t of the Society and it was suggested that we might not have e legal right to sell gifts. However, an advertisement appeared the *Commercial Advertiser* for May 4, 1825, as follows:

Sale of very valuable books. The undersigned, being a Committee with ll powers, appointed by the New York Historical Society, for the rpose of extricating said Society from its pecuniary embarrassments, d themselves compelled, very reluctantly, to offer for sale the choice d rare Library of that institution.

The sale will take place at the New York Institution, by public auction, Monday, the 18th of July next—unless a sufficient offer for the whole ll previously be made by some Literary body.

The undersigned very sincerely and earnestly hope that such steps ll be taken by some of the Literary Institutions of this city, in order prevent the scattering of that valuable collection of Books, and its us being lost to the city and state.

I. E. DeKay, Ch'mn.

Cave Jones
William Gracie
Anthony Bleecker
Benj. Haight,
} Committee.

In a long editorial on the opposite page of the same issue the itor entered an earnest plea for the preservation of the library, ying in part:

It is with deep mortification that we insert the advertisement on this subject . . . although we have long foreseen the event, unless some of our wealthy public spirited citizens could . . . save the valuable collection from a forced sale under the hammer. There is not, of the kind, so well selected, and so valuable a library as this in America. It is richly worth twenty thousand dollars, and yet the whole must soon be sacrificed for a debt of about seven thousand. Should it come to this, we think the fact would be highly discreditable to the city. . . . We really hope that something will be done, and that speedily. For, as New-Yorkers, we should feel deeply humiliated to have the Historical Society's Collection, which many of our most distinguished literary gentlemen have been twenty years in collecting, scattered to the winds under the hammer of the auctioneer.

Again on May 6th an editorial in the *Commercial Advertiser* said:

Upon the subject of selling this valuable library, there is but one sentiment entertained by the press of this city. To quote the language of the Daily Advertiser, in addition to what we have before said, "all feel mortified in the extreme, to see such a proof of the public indifference towards an institution so necessary to the literary reputation of New-York. But this is not the only objection:— a great many of the books, and we believe some of the most valuable in the collection, were the gifts of gentlemen from their own private libraries, presented with the noble object of securing them to the public; and we shall be disappointed if our wealthy citizens can permit at least that portion of the library to be set up for sale." Conversing upon the subject at Albany, a short time since, the gentlemen from Utica and Canandaigua expressed the utmost surprise at the apathy which prevailed in this city, in regard to the proposed sale. The money, they affirmed, could be raised in either of those villages in a single day.

Mr. Pintard, ill and disillusioned by the turn of affairs which threatened to destroy all that he had worked so hard to bring about for the past twenty years and with the Society owing him $3,000 and his friend Dr. Francis a like amount which it could not pay, never appeared at one of its meetings after January 1825, though he was nominally the Society's Treasurer until the end of 1827. A newer element was taking over the running of the Society, a group more interested in an honorable settlement of its finances than in the preservation of its great library. The Society's situation was indeed desperate.

This unfortunate situation split the Society wide open for, hen on June 14, 1825, it was moved that the Society sell its operty with the proviso that it be kept intact in the city, Presi- nt Hosack resigned. Second Vice-President John Trumbull en took the chair and, after the motion had carried, he too signed and, with President Hosack, left the meeting, together ith two members of the Standing Committee. The rupture had en so violent that no further meeting was held until March 14, 26. Peacemakers must have been at work in the mean time, owever, for, at that meeting, President Hosack and Vice-Presi- nt Trumbull were once more present, and the former had the isfaction of announcing that the State Legislature, on Feb- ary 10th, had revived the act of incorporation of the Society[19] hich therefore continued to have legal standing even though its nances were, to say the least, precarious.

In his message to the Legislature in 1826, Governor Clinton d made the following recommendation relative to the Society:

> The charter of the Historical Society of New York has expired, and finances are in a state of great depression. Its collections of books, anuscripts, medals and maps, illustrative of the antiquities and history our country, are very valuable and ought to be preserved for the blic benefit. The resuscitation of this society, and a liberal provision r its extended usefulness are measures worthy of your adoption.

Though the message brought about the renewal of the charter, did not carry with it any financial aid. But the Society was fficiently encouraged to make a further appeal to the generosity the Legislature to help out in the emergency and so attempt save its library from dispersal. It was therefore decided, on nuary 13, 1827, to send Frederic de Peyster, Jr., the Society's rresponding Secretary, to Albany to lobby for a bill in favor the Society and, of course, he had the warm support of Gov- nor Clinton who, in his message of 1827, said:

> The charter of the New York Historical Society which had expired its own limitation was renewed at the last session, but without the cuniary aid that was solicited and which would have been worthily

bestowed, considering the light which its researches and collections have shed on the history of America in general, and of this state in particular.

Mr. De Peyster submitted his strongly worded memorial to the Legislature which, on March 1st, passed a bill for the relief of the Society to the amount of $5,000, provided that the Society find a way to completely wipe out its indebtedness of $7,500. Dr. Hosack commented on the difficulty of the undertaking as follows:[20]

> For this effective and timely aid, they [the Society] are indebted to the zealous and well directed efforts of Frederic De Peyster, Jun. Esq. For the purpose of securing the grant, the society unanimously deputed Mr. De Peyster to present to the legislature their claims and necessities. That gentleman found a majority of the members hostile to all appropriations whatever. Committees in both houses had reported upon the low state of the treasury, and the consequent inexpediency of making grants in favour of the various and important objects pending before them. Mr. De Peyster, notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, persevered in representing the value and importance of preserving the society, the nature and extent of its difficulties, the claims it had upon an enlightened legislature. These representations prevailed in the lower house with only three dissenting voices, and in the senate by an unanimous vote.

The Society was, of course, jubilant. Its precious library was saved and the State grant meant that it could pay all of its debts but some $1,400, the amount still claimed by Mr. Pintard for books purchased for the library out of his own pocket. Unfortunately he could not produce vouchers and so his claim was not allowed, so the Society finally balanced its books and was once more free of debt, but its Founder, in the process, made his last but involuntary gift to the Society because of his book collecting zeal and his lack of business methods. The Society, which now consisted of 230 active and 181 honorary members, sent its formal thanks to Governor De Witt Clinton, the Legislature, and Mr. De Peyster and the entire Legislature was elected to honorary membership in the Society.[21] But nobody thanked Mr. Pintard.

R. W. G. Vail

CHANCELLOR JAMES KENT (1763–1847)

FIFTH PRESIDENT (1828–1831)

mes Kent, a native of this State, graduated from Yale in 1781, studied w under Egbert Benson, our first President, was admitted to the bar 1785, and the same year became a law partner of Gilbert Livingston. e was a Federalist and great admirer of Alexander Hamilton. He re- oved to New York City in 1793 where he became a professor of law at olumbia but was not popular as a teacher and resigned in 1798. He was aster in Chancery, 1796–1798, Recorder of the City of New York, 97–1798, and Judge of the New York Supreme Court, 1798–1804, hen he became Chief Judge of that court, having in the meantime re- oved to Albany. He was appointed Chancellor of New York in 1814 d retired in 1823. His decisions were of great importance to American risprudence. He removed to New York where he again joined the olumbia University law faculty. Disliking teaching, he again resigned in 25 but published in four volumes his lectures as his Commentaries on merican Law, which became a classic and appeared in 14 editions in nglish besides others in German and Spanish. Kent was an omnivorous ader and had a remarkable memory. He loved his large private library xt to his wife. He was elected an Honorary Member of the Society 1813, served as its President from 1828 to 1831, and delivered the nniversary Discourse in 1828 on the domestic history of the State which e Society published in a 40-page pamphlet in 1829. The Society owns s oil portrait by Samuel F. B. Morse and a plaster bust by S. V. Clevenger.

DURING Chancellor Kent's four-year administration of the Society Andrew Jackson was President of the United ates with Calhoun his Vice-President. The population of the ation had grown to twelve and a half million with many Ger- ans coming to America because of political unrest at home. housands of covered wagons were crossing the plains along the regon Trail to new homes in the far Northwest in the years om 1831 on. Having a flourishing colony in Texas, we tried nsuccessfully to buy that territory from Mexico. In 1828 Joseph lenry invented insulation for electric wires; the next year the rst steam locomotive in the country ran between Carbondale nd Honesdale, Pennsylvania, and, in 1830, the first American- uilt locomotive was in use on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

In this period Audubon began publishing his *Birds of America*, of which our Society owns the original watercolors; the *Book of Mormon* was published by Joseph Smith and the Mormon Church founded; our national song *America* was written and sung; and the *Liberator* began publication.

By the time of the annual election of 1828 the Society's library was safe and money was available to pay most of its debts but Dr. Hosack and his friends had had enough. He refused to run again for President and so did most of the other officers and members of the Standing Committee. Frederick De Peyster stayed on as Corresponding Secretary and Dr. Francis remained on the Standing Committee. Chancellor Kent was elected President; the famous merchant-diarist Philip Hone became First Vice-President; and John Delafield, Sr., replaced John Pintard as Treasurer. Of the men who had made the Society, all were gone but Dr. John W. Francis.

The new and more businesslike administration set about trying to put the Society on a sound financial footing. John Delafield, Sr., and his daughter and son went to work to straighten out the library and put it in order. The young man was made Librarian, which position he held for three years. In a letter written in 1873, Mrs. Cornelius Du Bois (Mary Ann Delafield) daughter of John Delafield, Sr., and sister of the librarian, wrote to Maturin L. Delafield:

> In the year 1828 my father found the Historical Society nothing but a name, the books all packed in boxes and no one taking any interest in it. He forthwith applied his energy to the revival, brought together literary gentlemen and at once hired a room [*this removal to new quarters must have been in 1832 when Delafield engaged a room in the Remsen Building, for the Society was in the rent-free New York Institution until that year*] and began the arrangement of the books. I well recollect it, for seeing him working hard in the evenings at the catalogues I begged him to allow me to relieve him of that labor. I gave five hours a day for three months to it and arranged a catalogue of 9,000 [actually 7,000] volumes alphabetically.[22] In the evenings I had the delight of my father's great satisfaction with my work. My brother John was the first librarian [*of the new regime*] and Samuel Ward Junr took the post when John went

JAMES KENT (1763–1847)

Fifth President of the Society, 1828–1831
By Samuel F. B. Morse, *c.* 1823

Gift of John Delafield

West. The Historical Society now holds a high position, but at that time there seemed nothing but dying embers revived to brightness by my father's zeal.[23]

The famous diary of Philip Hone, merchant, former Mayor of New York, and First Vice-President of the Society, 1828–1839, has this to say about the Society at the end of 1828:

December 6, 1828. Chancellor Kent delivered an address this day before the Historical Society—a most beautiful production, interesting in its details, affecting and impressive in its style, and read in a chaste and elegant manner. By the exertions of a few individuals this society has been resuscitated, its affairs relieved from embarrassment, the valuable library rescued from the neglect and confusion in which it has lain for years, the apartments cleaned and beautified, and the whole rendered entirely worthy of the patronage and support of the public. These important changes have been principally effected by the zeal, industry, and good taste of Mr. John Delafield [Sr.].

Bearing out the recollections of Mrs. Du Bois, Frederic De Peyster, Jr., reported, on January 13, 1829, that the library was found in deplorable condition and had been cleaned, boxed, bound, and catalogued, largely by Treasurer Delafield who reported that it contained 7,000 volumes of which over 300 were newspapers. It had been found that most of the members owed from $15.00 to $45.00 in back dues so, late in 1828, Mr. Delafield had issued a printed letter to former members appealing for support and asking for the payment of three years dues ending with the following December 31st., other arrears of dues to be remitted. As a result of this appeal 51 members had paid up by the following January and the treasurer reported the receipt of $5,905.21 and the disbursement of $5,567.71, so the Society was at least solvent. At this time the natural history specimens of the Society were given to the Lyceum of Natural History which responded by presenting to the Society the valuable papers of the extinct United States Military and Philosophical Society, including an important collection of Revolutionary War manuscripts.

Then a serious blow fell on the struggling Society for, on May

1829, they learned that the Common Council required them vacate their rooms in the New York Institution by August t. However, their eviction was postponed until 1832 but y were so disheartened that there were no meetings held from ıe to October, 1829, and nothing of interest happened until ear later when Jared Sparks returned a considerable part of Gates Papers which he had borrowed and with them the nuscripts of Baron Steuben which he reported had been "put ıis hands two or three years ago by Governor Clinton [and ich were] intended for the Historical Society." These uben journals and letter books now fill six volumes and six xes and cover the years 1778 to 1782.

GENERAL MORGAN LEWIS (1754–1844)

SIXTH PRESIDENT (1832–1835)

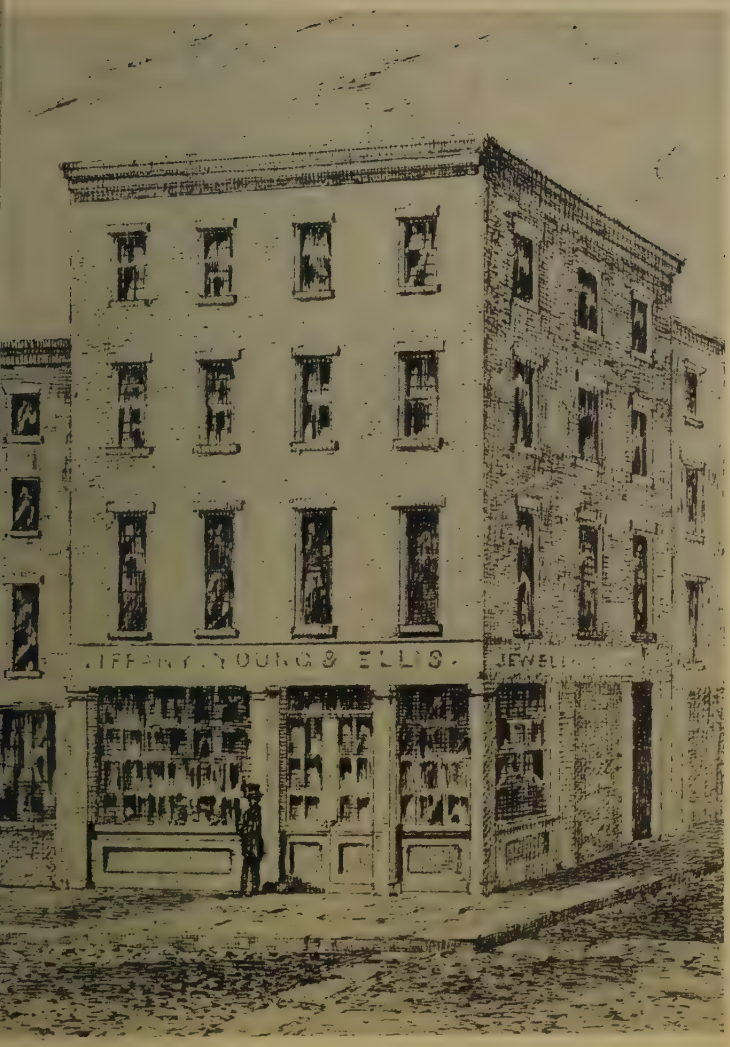
MORGAN LEWIS (1754–1844)
Sixth President, 1832–1835
C. C. Curran after James Herring
t of his great-great-grandson, 1910

Morgan Lewis, son of Francis Lewis, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born and died in New York City. He graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1773, and studied law under John Jay who organized and commanded the Second Regiment of New York City Militia with Lewis as Major in 1775. Lewis became Deputy Quartermaster-General in the Northern Department of the Continental Army in 1776 and served with that rank until the end of the war. After the war he practiced law in Dutchess County; was a member of the Assembly, 1789–90, 1792; served as Attorney-General of the State, 1791, Judge of the Supreme Court, 1792, and Chief Justice, 1801. He was Governor of the State, 1804–1807, and State Senator, 1811–1814. He was artermaster and Major-General on the Niagara Frontier in the War of

1812. Though he filled his various offices with no particular distinction, he was a patriotic, generous and enlightened citizen. He married the daughter of Robert R. Livingston, Sr., and served the family well as a tactful and considerate landlord of the Livingston estate. General Lewis was elected an Honorary Member of the Society in 1821 and President from 1832 to 1835. The Society owns his portrait by C. C. Curran after James Herring.

DURING the four years from 1832 to 1835 Andrew Jackson was President of the nation with Martin Van Buren as Vice-President. The Oregon Trail continued to take thousands of settlers to the West, including Idaho; the Black Hawk War was fought and the Second Seminole War begun. The Democratic and Whig parties were formed; the slavery controversy became hotter; and 1833 saw the beginning of four years of wild speculation in lands, roads, canals, banks, and cotton. In this period McCormick patented his reaper, Davenport invented the electric motor, and Morse gave us the telegraph—three of the most important American contributions to modern civilization. In 1833 Oberlin College was founded, the first coeducational college and the first to give degrees to Negroes, and the following year Bancroft began publishing the first great History of the United States. Here in New York the *Sun*, *Herald*, and *Knickerbocker Magazine* were founded; the city got its first horse-car and also a severe cholera epidemic which spread to the Southwest with 4,000 deaths in five months of 1832.

Chancellor Kent having declined reëlection, General Morgan Lewis became President of the Society on January 10, 1832, with the rest of the slate practically the same as before, the Standing Committee having been abolished in 1829. The new regime started off bravely with the announcement of the Society's first legacy, a collection of books and $300 in cash from the estate of Isaiah Thomas of Worcester, Massachusetts, founder of the American Antiquarian Society and a frequent donor of books and newspapers to our library, who had been elected an Honorary member in 1813. This legacy still heads the list of the Society's benefactions.



FOURTH HOME OF THE SOCIETY, 1832–1837

The Remsen Building, Broadway at Chambers Street

Drawing by Abram S. Hosier at The New-York Historical Society

On April 9, 1832, the Society moved to its fourth home on the third floor of the new Peter Remsen building on the southwest corner of Broadway and Chambers Street which had been rented by Mr. Delafield at $500 per year. A housewarming was held on April 19th with some thirty members and many guests in the audience. A number of valuable gifts by Dr. Hosack, Mr. Delafield, and others were announced, including busts of Washington and Franklin, given by Dr. Hosack, and one of the Doctor himself, presented by his friend Dr. Francis. Mr. William Beach Lawrence, a distinguished young local lawyer, delivered an address on *The Origin and Nature of the Representative Institutions of the United States*. Philip Hone reported the meeting in his diary as follows:

> The Historical Society having lately moved their library to the spacious room in the third story of the new edifice belonging to Mr. Remsen at the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street, over the one occupied by the Athenaeum, it was opened this day, and an address delivered to a respectable assemblage of ladies and gentlemen by William Beach Lawrence . . . . I presided as First Vice-Presdent, in the absence of General Morgan Lewis, the President.

No meetings were held from June to December and the library was closed, since there was no money to hire a librarian. However, in January 1833, the officers were given keys which were occasionally borrowed by others, to the confusion of the Society's collections. The Society at this point went into temporary eclipse; the treasury was down to $4.68; there were no meetings and the minutes contain no entries between June 11, 1833, and January 13, 1836. News of the Society's sad state had travelled, as we know from a letter written by James Mease of Philadelphia to Dr. John W. Francis on March 29, 1835, in which he said: "I understand the catalepsy under which the Historical Society of New York has for some time laboured, still continues and [is] likely to continue."

And on this sad note ended the regime of General Morgan Lewis.

PETER GERARD STUYVESANT (1778–1847)

SEVENTH PRESIDENT (1836–1839)

ETER G. STUYVESANT (1778–1847)
Seventh President, 1836–1839
Miniature by Unknown Artist
Owner unknown; photo NYHS

Peter Gerard Stuyvesant was the great-great-grandson of Governor Petrus Stuyvesant. He graduated from Columbia College in 1794, studied law but devoted most of his time to the administration of the estate which had come down to him from the last of the Dutch governors. Though twice married, he left no children. Mr. Stuyvesant was the youngest of the founders of the Society and its President from 1836 to 1839. The Society has only a photograph of his privately owned miniature.

ANDREW JACKSON and Martin Van Buren were the nation's presidents during the four years of Stuyvesant's administration of the Society. rkansas and Michigan became States; Wisconsin and Iowa, erritories; and Texas, a republic. Santa Anna massacred the fenders of the Alamo and was defeated by Sam Houston at n Jacinto; General Taylor subdued the Seminoles at Okeechoe Swamp; and William H. Seward was elected Governor of ew York. In 1836 the first western grain was shipped from hicago to Buffalo and through the Erie Canal to New York; ie type-casting machine, Colt revolver, friction match, and vulnization of rubber were invented; in 1839 Morse introduced ie daguerreotype into America and Abner Doubleday devised ie rules for baseball as we now play it. On May 10, 1837, a nic began a seven-year depression which forced the suppreson of specie payment by the New York banks and the failure f over six-hundred banks throughout the country.

President Stuyvesant had two strikes against him when, on January 13, 1836, he was elected President of the Society. The death of Dr. David Hosack on December 22, 1835, cast a shadow over the annual meeting. Treasurer Delafield, who had worked valiantly to settle the Society in its present home had, in the process, incurred a debt of a thousand dollars for rent and the cost of refurbishing and opening the new quarters which proved inadequate as well as expensive, for there was no proper place for meetings and no money to pay a librarian. Consequently, the members lost interest and failed to pay their dues.

However, the new President and his friends worked valiantly to pull out of the sad situation they had inherited. They authorized the Treasurer to borrow the thousand dollars and pay their bills, they tried to collect back dues, and they had a new lock put on their library room so that unauthorized persons could no longer have access to their precious collections through the careless lending of official keys. There must have been considerable criticism of John Delafield for renting such an expensive, inaccessible, and inadequate home for the Society, but at the time it was the best he could do. There seemed no way to pay the debts or to stop the mounting expenses, so he gave it up as a bad job and resigned as Treasurer on May 10th; the Society locked its room and did not return until December 20th. But someone must have been busy in the meantime for, when they reconvened, they had offers of rent-free quarters both at New York University and Stuyvesant Institute and decided to accept the latter offer if they could be sure that the new quarters would be available for at least ten years. But the new buildings of the University and the Institute were neither of them completed, though it was expected that we could move into the latter some time during the summer of 1837 and everyone was grateful to President Stuyvesant and the Institute officials for their generosity in making the move possible. The meeting of April 11th must have been a happy one, for the prospect of a speedy termination of the ruinous rental and the removal to a large, beautiful, rent-free

FIFTH HOME OF THE SOCIETY, 1837–1841

Stuyvesant Institute, Broadway opposite Bond Street

Woodcut at The New-York Historical Society

me would solve the Society's difficulties and bring about its juvenation.

And then, on May 10th, the worst panic in years hit the city, e banks closed their doors, many of them failed and the mis-rtunes of the Society found new depths of despair. There was t another meeting until September, for men's minds were mpletely occupied with saving what they could of their own rtunes. But the Society was not entirely forgotten: some of the yal members had seen to the removal of the library to its new me at 659 Broadway and everything was in order when the ciety first met there on September 28th. Let us see how Philip one recorded the meeting in his diary:

September 28, 1837. I attended this evening a meeting of the Historical ciety, the first held in their new rooms in the splendid edifice erected

by the Stuyvesant Institute in Broadway opposite Bond Street. These rooms have been given gratuitously to the Society for a term of ten years. The library (which is the most considerable in this country in books and manuscripts relating to the history of the United States, particularly the State of New York), has been well and tastefully arranged, and as it is now to be kept open during several hours of each day, it will no longer be as heretofore a sealed book to the members. There was a pretty good attendance at this meeting, at which Peter G. Stuyvesant, the President, presided. [*He presided at all but four meetings during his four years of office*].

These rooms, according to the lease of September 1, 1837, were "The most southerly room and the middle room adjoining thereto on the northeasterly side, being the two southerly rooms of the suite of back rooms on the second floor." With an adequate room for the library and a large, pleasant room for the meetings, it was immediately planned to hold a series of paid lectures to raise money to pay off the debts and start afresh. This proved one of the best moves the Society had made up to that time, for the lectures caught on at once and were very popular. There were seven of these lectures given during 1838, all of them by able historical students among the Society's members, including Reverend Francis L. Hawks, William S. Walker, Joseph Blunt (the Society's Librarian), Samuel Ward, Jr. (founder and first President of the Bank of Commerce), and William L. Stone (one of the proprietors of the *New York Commercial Advertiser* and historian of the Iroquois Indians), each of whom lectured on an interesting phase of our history. The lectures were so well attended and became so popular that a second series of eight lectures, of which George Bancroft gave the last, was held the following year with renewed success. As a result of the first series, the debts of the Society were wiped out, new books added to the library, and an assistant librarian hired to keep the library open all day for the use of members and visiting scholars. With its debts paid, the Society could draw a long breath once more.

President Stuyvesant, Vice-President Hone, Corresponding Secretary Frederic de Peyster, Recording Secretary Benjamin R. Winthrop, and Librarian Joseph Blunt seem to have been the

n principally responsible for the latest rebirth of the Society. ıey were all regular attendants at the meetings and extremely ıerous givers of rare and valuable books and manuscripts. ıey also brought in a large number of new members—215 ring the Stuyvesant regime—and put over two successful series public lectures in addition to eleven lectures for the members. ıd, not being averse to seeking a bit of good will on the bench, June 15, 1838, they had a special meeting for the members the Court of Errors. Philip Hone tells us about it in his diary:

'riday, June 15, 1838. The Historical Society held an extra meeting our o'clock to receive a visit from the members of the Court of Errors heir rooms in the Stuyvesant Institute. About one half of the Court ended and after inspecting the books, manuscripts, &c. we went to e with the President, Mr. Stuyvesant. He had previously appointed his locum tenens at the Society's rooms and I officiated as his Vice-sident at the Dinner. The party at Dinner consisted of about twenty-. I never saw a finer dinner or drank better wine.

The semi-centennial of Washington's inauguration gave the ciety an excellent opportunity for another big celebration ıich was fun in itself but had the very important result of at-cting more friends and larger support to the Society. So, in te of the fact that the country had by no means recovered m the recent panic, the anniversary meeting, with John ıincy Adams as the orator, was a great success as you will see turning to the later chapter on "Elegant Dinners and Elo-ent Diners." Then, on April 30, 1839, another blow fell when vas announced that the panic had bankrupted Stuyvesant In-ute, the property would have to be sold and the Society would ve to start all over again. This was too much for the officers l none of them would stand for reëlection except Frederic de yster, the Corresponding Secretary. However, the situation s not so gloomy as they thought, for the Society had over ır hundred resident members and was not compelled to vacate comfortable quarters until 1841. This gave the new regime ıe to find a new home and plan for the future. It is pleasant to ow that Stuyvesant's valiant efforts in the Society's behalf

were appreciated in spite of the unfortunate turn of events he could not control. At the February 1840 meeting it was

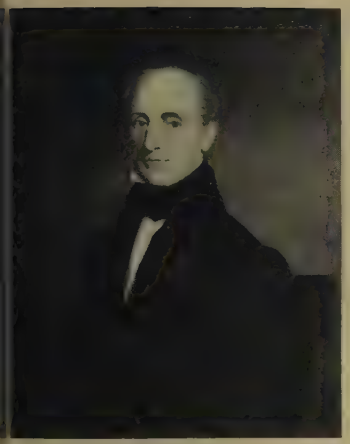
Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, Esquire [*who was present*], for the last Four Years President of the New York Historical Society who, entering on the duties of his office at a period of extreme depression in the affairs of the Institution, by his zealous exertions in the service of the institution was mainly instrumental in elevating the Character and restoring the usefulness of the Society.

PETER AUGUSTUS JAY (1776–1843)

EIGHTH PRESIDENT (1840–1842)

Peter Augustus Jay, of distinguished Huguenot descent, was the eldest son of the statesman, John Jay. His mother was the daughter of Governor William Livingston of New Jersey. Having graduated from Columbia College in 1794, he served as his father's secretary in London during the negotiations which resulted in the Jay Treaty for the settlement of differences with Great Britain. Returning to New York, he was admitted to the bar in 1797 and had a distinguished and lucrative career in his chosen profession. In 1802 he went to Europe for his health and happened to be in Paris when the treaty for the sale of Louisiana to the United States was signed and that document was entrusted to him for transmittal to Congress. Returning to his profession, he found time to serve as an officer of Trinity Church and a trustee of Columbia. He was a member of the State Assembly, 1816, Recorder (criminal court judge) of New York City, 1819–1820, a member of the convention which drew up the state Constitution of 1821, and favored Clinton's canal legislation and the bill for the abolition of slavery in the State. He also found time to serve as President of the New York Hospital from 1827 to 1833. Jay joined the Society in 1809, served on its Standing Committee, 1814–1820, as Second Vice-President, 1823, as First Vice-President, 1824–1827, and as President, 1840–1842. The Society owns his portrait in charcoal by James or Ellen Sharples, an oil portrait by C. F. Saltza after A. B. Durand, and a plaster bust by R. F. Launitz.

DURING the brief period of Jay's Presidency, the colorful log-cabin-and-hard-cider campaign swept the Whigs into office under the slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" but the old hero, General William Henry Harrison, died after only a



ER AUGUSTUS JAY (1776–1843)
Eighth President, 1840–1842
By C. F. Saltza after A. B. Durand
ift of Mrs. Matthew Clarkson, 1905

month in the White House and John Tyler became President of the seventeen million Americans. During these years the first grain elevator was built at Buffalo; ether was first used as an anesthetic in Georgia; the first American Christmas tree was set up at Williamsburg, Virginia; and, here in New York, Horace Greely founded the *Tribune* and the city received its first supply of pure and abundant water through the Croton Aqueduct.

The chief concern of the Society during Mr. Jay's presidency was the securing of a new me, for it was evident that they must soon vacate their rooms at Stuyvesant Institute because of its sale under foreclosure of the rtgage. This situation had worried Mr. Stuyvesant in parular, though he was not responsible for the unfortunate turn events which threatened to turn the Society out of the comtable quarters which his generosity had helped them secure beie the unforeseen panic spoiled all their plans. So he now, on nuary 19, 1841, offered the Society the gift of a fine site for a w home of its own provided its members could raise, by the t of the following May, the necessary $18,000 for the conuction of a fireproof building. This 40 by 70-foot plot of land nted on Stuyvesant Street and lay between the Bowery and ird Avenue with a fine exposure on an open square in conuation of Astor Place, one of the most desirable locations in the y. Every effort was made to comply with the terms of this st generous offer, but the city had not yet recovered from the ic and it was found quite impossible to raise the necessary ds for the new building, so the offer had to be refused. Cast-

ing about for a solution of their pressing problem, the Society considered moving in with the Lyceum of Natural History and it was suggested that their library might be merged with that of the New York Society Library; both institutions finally decided against the merger but the Society Library generously offered temporary storage space for our possessions until we could find a new home. The outlook seemed extremely dismal.

Then New York University came to the rescue of the Society and on April 6, 1841, we learned that we could have rooms in their new building on Washington Square on the following terms:

> The Library to go into the room now occupied by the University Library, second floor above the Basement and on the same floor with the Chapel. The standard books of the University may remain in a case to be provided by the University.
>
> The gallery above to contain the Cabinet and Museum of the Historical Society and of the University and such books and pamphlets as the two Librarians may think proper.
>
> All books of each Library to be open to the University and the Historical Society, under regulations to be adopted by the Librarians under the advice of their several committees.
>
> The expenses of placing the Library in the building to be born by the Society. The expense of lighting, fuel, servants, hire &c to be equally divided between the University and Society.
>
> The Salary of the Assistant Librarian including any charges for necessary assistance to be equally divided; and in the settlement of the yearly account for such expenses, One hundred Dollars to be allowed to the University.
>
> The Large or the Small Chapel to be used for Lectures by the Society on the most liberal terms which the University can afford to any association or individual.[24]

On May 22d the Society voted to "accept the liberal offer of the New York University of their Rooms for a period of three years." This was to be the home of our Society until, in 1857, we were able to move into a building of our own.[25]

Having moved their possessions to their new home during the summer of 1841, the Society met for the first time "at their Rooms in the University of the City of New York on Tuesday

SIXTH HOME OF THE SOCIETY, 1841–1857

New York University, Washington Square

Woodcut from *Gleason's Pictorial*, Sept. 4, 1852, p. 145

ening, October 5th, 1841." The committee in charge of com-cting negotiations with the University reported "that a lease of ree rooms has through the liberality of the said University en obtained on terms which they flatter themselves will prove isfactory to the Society and conducive to their interests." At is housewarming, as Mr. Kimball aptly calls it, many valuable ts were received, including an oil portrait of Alexander Ham-on by Charles Willson Peale and many important books such the following, presented by their authors: Young's *Chronicles the Pilgrims*, Holland's *Life of Martin Van Buren, Literature d Men of Letters in the United States* (in French) by Eugene Vail of Paris (the first history of American literature to ap-ar on the Continent), William L. Stone's *Life and Times of ed Jacket*, and Peter Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, olume III (he having presented the earlier volumes as they peared).

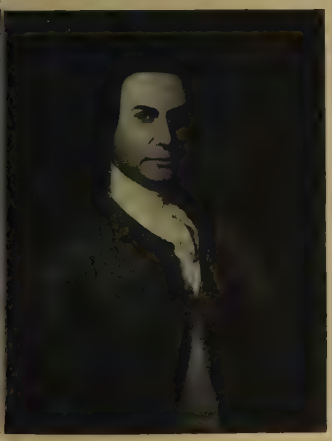
At the next meeting in November a special committee on the financial status of the Society reported that there were some $400 in outstanding debts in addition to the cost of publishing the recently issued volume of the Society's *Collections*[20] which included a splendid series of sources on the Colonial history of New York. The committee advised that, in future, no debts be incurred and no bills be paid without a specific appropriation, a suggestion which was approved but not always strictly followed in the 1840's.

In an attempt to increase the Society's resources, a concerted effort was made to collect the dues from the two hundred resident members (there were also over a hundred honorary members) and to encourage them to become life members. The two series of subscription lectures having been successful under President Stuyvesant's regime, another series was begun in 1840 but was discontinued after the third lecture for lack of support. However, the 1841 series given by the two famous archaeologists John L. Stephens and Frederick Catherwood and others and especially the series on the Revolution by Jared Sparks[21] proved very popular and brought in enough money to wipe out all of the Society's debts or, as the Minutes for January 4, 1842, state it: "by which the pecuniary embarrassments of the Society have been removed."

As a further inducement to regular attendance at the meetings Mr. George Folsom of the Standing Committee suggested, on October 4, 1842, that "refreshments should be furnished . . . and that strangers should be invited to be present at the regular meetings." This policy was put in force at once and was continued until the days of the Great Depression and, of course, is still continued at our Strawberry Festivals and St. Nicholas Day parties.

In spite of our preoccupation with the securing of a new home and with the placing of our financial house in order, the Society, during this period, secured 63 new members and a large number of rare manuscripts, books and newspapers, and promoted a

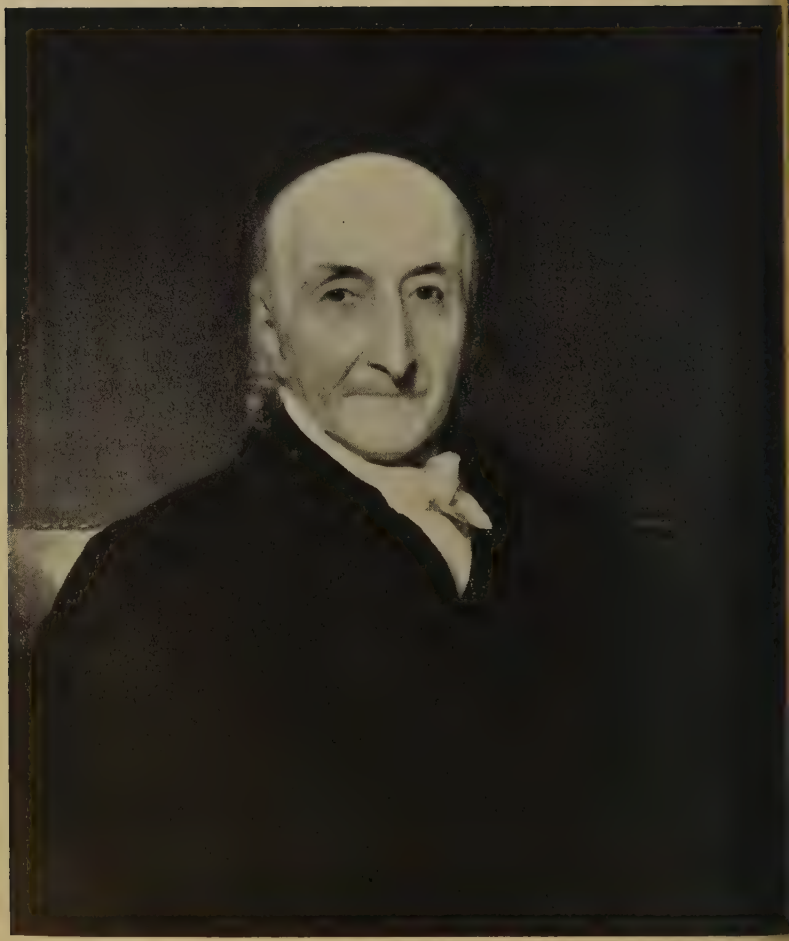
nolarly enterprise of considerable importance. As early as pril 10, 1838, we first suggested to the Legislature that they propriate funds for the copying and publishing of the manu-ripts regarding our State's early history to be found in the chives of England, France, and Holland. The following year again memorialized the Legislature and Governor Seward it a special message endorsing the project. The sum of $4,000 as appropriated and John Romeyn Brodhead was employed as e State's agent for that purpose. Through our suggestion the propriation was increased and the series of documents finally blished as *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the ate of New-York*, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan (the last two lumes by Berthold Fernow) in fifteen quarto volumes which peared between 1856 and 1883. From this material the State o published the invaluable *Documentary History of the State New York*, by E. B. O'Callaghan, 1849–1851, in four fat lumes. Under our urging, the State was also induced to publish e *Journals of the New York Provincial Congress*, 1842, 2 vol-nes, and from these beginnings came a long series of similar ate publications on our history right down to the present time nen the last volumes of the papers of Sir William Johnson are ing through the press.



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON (1715–1774)

Copy, c. 1840, after the lost original
By Thomas McIlworth, May 1763
Gift of Edward F. DeLancey, 1896

[The previously unknown artist of the original of this unique and important portrait was first identified in the Society's *Quarterly*, April 1951, p. 117 ff.]



ALBERT GALLATIN (1761–1849)

Ninth President of the Society, 1843–1849
By William H. Powell, 1843

Gift of the artist, 1844

R. W. G. Vail

ALBERT GALLATIN (1761–1849)

NINTH PRESIDENT (1843–1849)

tinguished diplomat and Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson l Madison, Albert Gallatin came of an ancient and wealthy Swiss ily and was born in Geneva where he graduated from the Academy 1779. Coming to America in 1780, he secured and developed a large ct of wild lands in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, in 1786, where he ame a leader in the frontier community and developed his political nts. He was a member of the Pennsylvania State Constitutional nvention of 1789 and of the Legislature, 1790–1792, and member of ngress, 1795–1801, in all of which he took a prominent part especially the field of finance. He served as Secretary of the Treasury under ferson and Madison from 1801 to 1813 during one of the stormiest iods of our political history, in spite of which he put our finances a solid foundation. Then began a diplomatic career of great distinction l benefit to the country in which he held the following posts: Com-sioner to Russia, 1813; War of 1812 Peace Commissioner, 1814; nister to France, 1815–1823 and Envoy Extraordinary to Great tain, 1826–1827. Returning to America, he settled in New York City, ame first President of the Council of New York University, 1830; t President of the New York National [Gallatin] Bank, 1831–1839, l first President of the Ethnological Society. Gallatin's voluminous itings in diplomacy, finance, and American ethnology are of great ue. He became a life member in the Society in 1842 and served as its sident from 1843 until his death on August 12, 1849, at the age of The large and extremely important collection of the papers of Albert llatin and his family are the property of this Society and from them nuch needed biography of this great citizen is now being written.[28] *e Society owns his oil portrait by William A. Powell and a bronze tuette of the large full-length bronze by James Earl Fraser.*

DURING the seven significant years of Albert Gallatin's administration of the Society, John Tyler, James K. Polk, d Zachary Taylor were Presidents of the nation; Florida, exas, and Iowa became States; Wisconsin, Oregon, and Minne-a became Territories, and Mexico ceded New Mexico and lifornia to the United States. The potato famine in Ireland eatly increased Irish emigration, tens of thousands of Germans rived, and Swedish emigration to the Central States began. here was also a huge flow of new settlers to Oregon and Brig-m Young led the Mormons to Utah. The Mexican War was

fought and won and gold was discovered in California. Gas and ether were being used as anesthetics; the sewing machine, rotary printing press, disc harrow, and safety pin were invented; the first government adhesive postage stamps went on sale in New York on July 1, 1847; and two years later the first woman received a medical degree. Spiritualism was founded, the first matched baseball game was played at Hoboken on June 19, 1846, John Jacob Astor died worth twenty millions, and Andrew Carnegie arrived from his native Scotland.

Though the infirmities of old age made it impossible for Albert Gallatin to preside at many of our meetings he was the most distinguished of our presidents and his name lent great prestige to our Society. His keen interest continued to the end; his wise counsels and generous gifts of rare books and manuscripts added much to our collections. President Gallatin's inaugural address, delivered February 1, 1843, on the causes which formed the national character of the United States and its political institutions, was published in a 21-page pamphlet and widely circulated by the Society. On April 15th he delivered an important address on the North-Eastern Boundary before "a large concourse of members and visitors" in the Chapel of the University, after which the Secretary of State, Honorable Daniel Webster, made some remarks on the same subject—all promptly published.[29]

During the Gallatin administration the Society really got into its stride. Nearly a thousand new members, including some of the leading men of the country, joined as resident, honorary, or corresponding members, the latter rank having been established in 1843. There was great enthusiasm and the monthly meetings were uniformly well attended with not a few distinguished speakers talking on interesting subjects. In his reports for 1845 and 1847, Prosper M. Wetmore, Chairman of the Executive Committee, said:

> The Committee . . . congratulate their fellow members upon the prosperous condition and flattering prospects of the Society. Healthy and vigorous action has succeeded to indolent and inglorious repose. Long years of inactivity have at length been followed by a season of industrious and successful effort . . . .[30]

The stated meetings continue to be well attended and are a popular useful medium of intercourse among the members, offering opportunity for social converse, kindly interchange of friendship and agreeable in the search for historic truth. These councils enjoyed together for rs by the enthusiastic, the studious and the learned, will not easily forgotten by those who have been permitted to share in them.[31]

Beginning with 1843 the library was open from 10 to 2 and o 9 each business day, with the unusually competent Assistant rarian, George H. Moore, in charge. The routine business of Society was placed in the hands of the Executive Committee, ving the monthly meetings free for the more scholarly and ial activities of the members. In 1844 there was a Soirée for members at the home of their former President, Peter Gerard uyvesant, at 621 Broadway and we know from Mr. Hone's ort of a previous party there that the entertainment was of best; and, on November 17, 1846, ladies were invited, probly for the first time, to stay for refreshments after a lecture.

Businesslike methods were being introduced into the running the Society's affairs. Dues from the growing membership were mptly collected and cheerfully paid, now that there was nething interesting going on; the library did some buying and ding, decided to limit its field of collecting to the Americas; books and manuscripts were put in order and catalogued ce more; gifts were more completely recorded and more mptly acknowledged and reported to the members; the dostic and foreign corresponding secretaries kept up a spirited d profitable correspondence with members, historians, and iquaries at home and abroad; the State was prodded into colting and publishing more and more of the basic documents of history and an abortive effort was made in 1845 to have the ne of the country changed from *The United States of nerica* to *The Republic of Allegania*, a pet brainstorm of a cial committee consisting of David Dudley Field, Henry R. hoolcraft, and Charles Fenno Hoffman.

In addition to the well-attended monthly lectures, the Society ebrated its fortieth anniversary with a great public meeting d a splendid banquet, on November 20, 1844, for which see

the chapter on "Elegant Dinners and Eloquent Diners." On June 20th of the following year a lively political row developed over whether or not the Society should memorialize their lately departed member Andrew Jackson. This spirited exchange of incivilities got into the newspapers and into the final chapter of this study but had no permanent ill effects. At the May 1847 meeting, after Lewis H. Morgan had delivered an important paper on the Iroquois Indians, Dr. Peter Wilson, a Cayuga Indian Chief, spoke eloquently, as you may learn from a later chapter. The Society was certainly wide awake! During this period the *Proceedings* were published each year and a fine new volume of *Collections* appeared. The Society sadly recorded the deaths of two of its founders, John Pintard in 1844 and Peter Gerard Stuyvesant in 1847, leaving Reverend Samuel Miller as the sole survivor until 1850. They also mourned the loss of their President, Honorable Albert Gallatin, who died on August 12, 1849.

The most important action during this period was the decision on June 1, 1847, to raise a fund of $50,000 for the erection of a permanent home for the Society. The need for a fireproof building to house their treasures was brought home to the members by a fire in the University's smaller chapel which, though it did not injure the precious library of the Society, did spur them to greater efforts towards the raising of the building fund for a fireproof home of their own. Their precious collections had had so many close calls that the fire in the same building with their library must have frightened the members considerably. The bequest of $5,000 of Miss Elizabeth Demilt, announced in December 1849 (She left the same amount to the New York Society Library, their first legacy), was promptly added to the small but growing building fund and, under the vigorous leadership of Luther Bradish, who as First Vice-President had guided the affairs of the Society during most of the Gallatin administration, the building campaign was continued with great spirit and enthusiasm into his own regime which followed.

The annual report for 1849 announced that the library then

tained 15,000 books and pamphlets, 1,400 volumes of news-
ers, 2,000 maps, 15,000 manuscripts, nearly 1,400 coins and
r 200 medals, the best American history collection in the
ntry. It is a temptation to quote largely from the long list of
ortant additions to the collections during these years, includ-
paintings, sculptures, archeological and enthnological speci-
ns, but we can mention only a few.

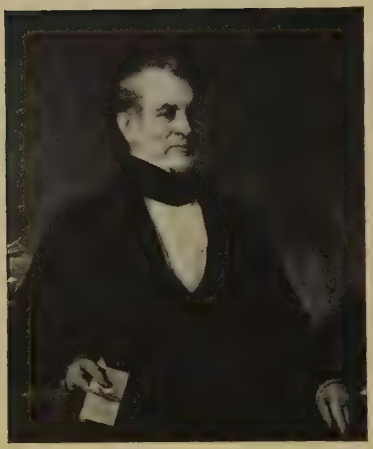
n 1848 Dr. Nathan S. Jarvis, U.S.A., deposited a splendid
ection of weapons, utensils, and costumes of the Plains In-
ns and a few fine South American artifacts which were later
le an outright gift and recently turned over to the Brooklyn
seum. Three years earlier we had secured the very important
ection of original Robert Erskine Revolutionary War maps
n the collection of Simeon De Witt, Geographer of the
ny, which had come from the latter's son, Richard Varick
Witt. This collection was described as "Not exceeded in
ie by any donation ever made to the Society" and consisted
ver a hundred surveys made during the war in parts of New
gland, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. This col-
ion, of the greatest historical importance, is still in use.

On June 5, 1849, the very capable librarian, Jacob B. Moore,
gned, "having accepted an appointment in a distant part of
country"—as first postmaster of San Francisco. This, for us,
tunate appointment of one of our loyal friends to a post in
very center of the California Gold Rush activities resulted
is sending us a large amount of material on this pioneer period
California's history, making ours one of the important collec-
ns of newspapers, books, ephemeral pamphlets, and prints on
fascinating subject.

n this period we also received the Chief Justice Daniel Hors-
nden papers, including the account of the trial of John Peter
nger; the original Indian deed for Staten Island, 1670; many
portant manuscripts and a ten-volume scrapbook on the Mexi-
War; many important early books on New York and New
gland; and several Bradford and Franklin imprints.

LUTHER BRADISH (1783–1863)

TENTH PRESIDENT (1850–1863)



LUTHER BRADISH (1783–1863)
Tenth President, 1850–1863
By Thomas Hicks, 1856
Gift of the artist, 1856

Luther Bradish, diplomat and statesman, was graduated from Williams in 1804, studied law and was admitted to the bar in New York and, in 1820, was sent by President John Quincy Adams to visit the Near East and find out whether it would be possible to negotiate a commercial treaty with Turkey. He remained in Europe, travelling extensively, including Scandinavia and Russia, returning in 1826 and settling in Franklin County where he had large land holdings. He was a Whig member of the New York Assembly, 1827–1830, 1835–1838, and in the latter year became Speaker of the Assembly and was elected Lieutenant Governor, which office he held from 1839 to 1843. Having been defeated for Governor in 1842, he was appointed by his friend President Millard Fillmore as Assistant United States Treasurer at New York for 1851–1852. He lived in New York from 1842 on and devoted most of his time to educational and philanthropic interests, including the American Bible Society of which he was President for many years. Mr. Bradish joined our Society in 1817 and became a life member in 1857. He was First Vice-President from 1845 to 1849 and President from 1850 until his death on August 30, 1863. His papers, 1827 to his death, fill fourteen boxes on the shelves of our Manuscript Collection.[82] *The Society owns his oil portrait by Thomas Hicks.*

DURING the fourteen years of the Luther Bradish administration the nation had the following Presidents: Zachary Taylor, Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, and Abraham Lincoln. California, Minnesota, and Oregon became States; New Mexico, Utah, Washington, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Dakota, Nevada, Arizona, and Idaho, Territories.

s development of the West was made necessary by a growth over eight million in our population, with over thirty-one ion in the country in 1860. The slavery situation became re and more critical as it was debated whether Kansas should r the Union slave or free; we had the Lincoln-Douglas De-es; John Brown raided Harper's Ferry, was tried and hanged, Southern states seceded from the Union and formed the nfederate States of America; Fort Sumter was bombarded April 14, 1861, and the Civil War had begun. The first land tles went against the North; the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* 862 fought the naval battle which heralded the beginning of dern naval armament; the Emancipation Proclamation was ned January 1, 1863, and the slaves were free; the Battle of ttysburg was won by the North the following July and on vember 19th the national cemetery there was dedicated and coln delivered his Gettysburg Address. The war was still inished when Bradish died.

There were many evidences of growth before and during the il War. The Erie Railroad reached Dunkirk on Lake Erie and Hudson River Railroad reached Albany in 1851; Pullman s came in 1858 to make travel easier; buildings were being lt higher as city land increased in value and so we welcomed is's invention of the first safe elevator in 1852. With kerosene being used, we were glad to have the invention of the lamp mney the same year. It was not long before Gail Borden per-ted the process of condensing milk; we were provided with rigerators, harvesters, and mowing machines; the Western ion Telegraph Company began to operate and we soon had irect line to San Francisco; Cyrus W. Field laid the first At-tic cable; the overland mail stage was running from St. Louis California; and the pony express was operating from Sacra-nto to St. Joseph in ten days. A serious panic crippled business m 1857 to 1859, but we also had the Pike's Peak and Virginia y gold rushes, the discovery of silver in Nevada's Comstock de, and oil was struck at Titusville, Pennsylvania.

The Know Nothing Party stirred up anti-Catholic feeling; Amelia Bloomer edited the first women's rights newspaper, *The Lily* (which was a daisy!), and lent her name to the ridiculed but later much-admired garment which she wore. Jenny Lind, the "Swedish Nightingale," and the English sparrow reached America in 1850. (In 1890 starlings were imported to wipe out the sparrows but both are still flourishing.) The Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.s began their good work; the Morrill Land Grant Act aided our State universities and agricultural colleges; Yale awarded the first American Ph.D.; and Leutze mispainted *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, now the foundling of the Metropolitan Museum.

In these years we could enjoy for the first time *Moby Dick*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Leaves of Grass*, the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's Monthly* and *Weekly*, the Beadle dime novels, the *New York Times*, and all the books in the newly opened Boston Public and Astor Libraries. Or we could whistle and sing *Old Folks at Home*, *Dixie* (written for a New York minstrel show but adopted by the South as its marching song), or the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*. Here in New York City in 1850 the citizens flocked to hear Jenny Lind sing in Castle Garden which, three years later, was to become an emigrant station, or they later joined in welcoming Louis Kossuth the Hungarian hero, chuckled over the first cartoon of Uncle Sam (in *Diogenes, Hys Lantern*, March 13, 1852); they were amazed by the domestic manufactures and ancient or contemporary art treasures displayed in the Crystal Palace and they admired the first New York police uniforms; Cooper Institute was founded in 1857 and they cheered Abraham Lincoln's famous speech there in 1860. They could patronize their first A. & P. store, opened on Vesey Street in 1859 or, if invited, attend the grand ball for Edward, Prince of Wales the following year; and they would not soon forget the bloodshed and terror of the Draft Riots of 1863.

Luther Bradish served our Society as First Vice-President and President for eighteen years and during his regime, in spite of

ic and war, we got on our feet financially, erected and oc-
ied a building of our own, added 2,286 new members to our
s, including Abraham Lincoln, celebrated our semi-centen-
, acquired some of our most important artistic, archeological,
historical collections, and inaugurated a fund for the publica-
n of many of our precious manuscripts. Mr. Bradish was al-
ys courteous, dignified, friendly, and thoughtful of others.
was tactful, enthusiastic, and mentally precise and had a
d sense of humor. Always competent and dependable, this
olarly, able politician and businessman almost never missed a
eting of the Society over which he presided during most of
administration of Albert Gallatin as well as his own. He had
usands of friends and no enemies and it was inevitable that
Society should flourish under his direction.

The new administration was saddened when, on January 7,
;o, Reverend Samuel Miller, D.D., the last of the Society's
unders died. Bradish and his enthusiastic and energetic col-
gues went vigorously to work to wipe out the debt of some
200 which they had inherited. By gifts and the sale of publi-
ions they were able to announce on January 7, 1851, that all
ts had been paid and that the Society was "in a condition of
sperity in all respects never before attained." The Society
ver again spent money it did not already have in the bank.
e current dues from the greatly enlarged and constantly
owing membership were sufficient to meet the running ex-
nses, and the Librarian, though he had no "official" salary,
s paid $1,000 per year for his much-appreciated services.

We were most fortunate in having as our Librarian from 1849
1875 Mr. George Henry Moore who had succeeded his father,
ob Bailey Moore, when in June of the former year the elder
oore became the first Postmaster of San Francisco. Dr. LeRoy
Kimball said of him:

George Henry Moore had begun work in the library in 1841, while
a sophomore in New York University, and in 1848, at twenty-six
rs of age, had been elected secretary of the Executive Committee on

GEORGE H. MOORE (1823–1892)
Carte-de-visite photograph
The New-York Historical Society

which he served until 1892, and during his fifty-one years with the Society he was said to have been the central figure in its activities. In 1876, he asked to be relieved of his duties as Librarian in order that he might accede to the request that he take the active administration of the Lenox Library, of which he was a fellow trustee with his friend James Lenox, to whom he acted as adviser. Three years later his younger brother, Jacob Bailey Moore, Jr., became Librarian and served for eight years, doubtless under the watchful eye of George Henry, whose active interest as an historian and bibliographer was ended only by his death on May 5, 1892. The epoch of the three Moores had extended for a total of thirty-five years of active service as Chief Librarians of the Society.[25]

The great achievement of the Luther Bradish administration was the securing of a permanent home for the Society. Having nearly $35,000 in the Building Fund by the beginning of 1853, the Society began looking for a site on which to build. They finally chose the southeast corner of Second Avenue and Eleventh Street, a plot in the best residential section of the city, measuring 59½ by 100 feet, which they finally bought, as reported at the meeting of June 20, 1854, for $11,500. Here they proposed to build at a cost of $50,000, which was about $10,000 more than they had in their Building Fund. However, on February 6, 1855, the Building Committee was authorized to go ahead with the construction, the additional funds to be raised as the work progressed.

The new home of the Society (Mettam & Burke, Architects) was to be an "Italian-Roman-Doric style of building," 55 by 92 feet in size and two stories or 64 feet high, built of sandstone

th brick floors covered with pine flooring—the best type of proof construction of the period. There was to be a sub-ement and basement for storage, furnace room, and janitor's rters. The first floor, nearly six feet above the sidewalk, was contain an ample (or so they then thought) lecture hall, ante l committee rooms; and the second floor, the 68- by 50-foot ary, with the vestibule and librarian's office at the front, the in reading room to be 31 feet high or 47 feet to the top of the tral dome. Above the vestibule and office, reached by an iron rcase from the library, was a map and chart room. This was be the home of the Society for half a century.

With construction well under way it was possible to have the emony of laying the cornerstone on October 17, 1855. The ciety met at the University and had as guests, Mr. William ung, President of St. George's Society, Mr. Frederic De Peyr, President of the St. Nicholas Society, and Mr. H. Aaronson, sident of the Hebrew Benevolent Society. Having formed in ocession, the members, guests, architects and builders marched the new site where, after a prayer by Reverend Thomas De itt, D.D., First Vice-President, the Honorable Luther Bradish, sident of the Society, laid the cornerstone and delivered an lress "appropriate to the occasion." "Frederic De Peyster, q., Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the Building nd then addressed the Society, and was followed by the Revnd George W. Bethune, D.D., an Honorary Member of the ciety, and by the Reverend Samuel Osgood, D.D., Domestic rresponding Secretary. The Society then adjourned," very ll satisfied with its accomplishment, no doubt, as it might well [34]

On April 12, 1855, the Legislature passed a law exempting the ciety's new building from taxation and other legal entanglents, which was a satisfaction to those who had invested in its nstruction, and the work progressed steadily. Early in the year 57 it was found, as is always the case, that costs were running ead of estimates and that they would need an additional

1 Lewis Cass
2 William L. Marcy
3 John Van Buren
4 George Bancroft
5 Martin Van Buren
6 Luther Bradish
7 Fred de Peyster
8 Edward Everett
9 Henry Clay
10 Franklin Pierce
11 William C. Bryant
12 Samuel Jones
13 Daniel Webster
14 Jonathan M. Wainwright
15 Winfield Scott.
16 Hamilton Fish
17 John W. Francis
18 Horatio Seymour
19 John E. Wool
20 Francis L. Hawks
21 Zadock Pratt
22 George W. Bethune
23 John W. Edmonds
24 Thomas J. Oakley
25 Robert J. Walker
26 Greene C. Bronson
27 John Duer
28 John Mc Keon
29 Alexander H. Stevens
30 Samuel R. Betts
31 Daniel Lord
32 William W. Campbell
33 Samuel Nelson
34 Robert H. Morris
35 Thomas H. Taylor
36 Washington Hunt
37 Ogden Hoffman
38 John A. Dix
39 Henry T. Tuckerman
40 John J. Crittendon
41 N. K. Hall
42 Millard Fillmore
43 John R. Broadhead
44 George Wood
45 Thomas de Witt
46 William H. Seward
47 Edward Robinson
48 John C. Calhoun
49 Valentine Mott

PUBLISHED BY WM. PATE 16 BURLING SLIP NEW YORK.

DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS
AT A MEETING OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
THE CHAPEL OF THE OLD UNIVERSITY BUILDING, WASHINGTON SQUARE]

"Designed and Drawn from Life by J. Gollman"
Engraved by Thomas Doney; printed by William Pate, 1854

The New-York Historical Society

is engraving is reproduced at pages 456–457; the key thereto, on the page opposite. chbishop John Hughes, pictured between Edward Everett and the Van Burens, ıer and son, in the engraving, was inadvertently omitted from the key, which is roduced here as it was first issued.

oth the engraving and its key were given to the Society by the artists in 1854. In cing the presentation in their behalf, Judge William W. Campbell said of the en-ving (NYHS Minutes, January 3, 1854):

It represents an interior view of the large Chapel of the University with the w York Historical Society in session. The heads with one or two exceptions were ıted from life by Mr. Julius Gollman, a native of [Hamburg], Germany and who ıe to this country only about four years ago and was favorably introduced to the ıerican public under the auspices of the late eminent and able representative of German Confederacy, Baron Roenne. The engraver is Mr. Doney, well known his celebrated engraving of the Senate of the United States.

The first proof is now presented on behalf of these artists. For over two years past y have devoted most of their time to this work. . . . They have also desired me to from the Society permission to dedicate the work to them. . . ."

The above-quoted record from the Minutes of the Society places Julius Gollman's val in America at about 1850—two years earlier than has previously been sup-ed, for up to now it was thought that the National Academy catalogue of 1852 tained the earliest reference to his presence on these shores. His only listing in a w York City Directory before 1860 was in the year 1853, though a Broadway ress is given for him in the National Academy catalogue of 1856. The Ohio iness Directory of 1859 lists him as of Cleveland, but he returned to New York y the following year and resided as formerly in the near vicinity of the University lding until 1865, the last year in which he exhibited at the Academy. He may then e returned to Cleveland, where the 1872 Directory lists him as a practicing artist. eventually returned to Germany, where he died in Berlin on August 5, 1898.

udge Campbell's firsthand authority in establishing Gollman's arrival in America bout 1850, together with his revelation that the artist began his painting of the ds at least as early as 1851, all but one or two being from life, goes far to remove former suspicion that a number of them were copied from portraits by other sts. Of the men depicted, three had died before the engraving was finished: John houn died in 1850 and so may be the exception to which Campbell alludes; but niel Webster and Henry Clay, both of whom died in 1852, lived long enough for llman to have taken their likenesses and Webster at least, having been on hand to ress the Society that year, was available. Although the entire group shown in llman's picture never assembled at one time, all were members of the Society ing its years in the University Building, and their collective life-portrait remains important and authoritative record of these many very distinguished Americans.

Thomas Doney, who engraved the "Distinguished Americans," was a mezzotint raver who came to Canada from France, worked for a time in Illinois and Ohio, established himself in New York City about 1844. William Pate, who printed it the Key, was listed as a member of the engraving firm of Neal & Pate in the New k Business Directory of 1844. His shop was at 16 Burling Slip in 1854, when he ıted the "Distinguished Americans."

$16,000 to complete the building, so a circular was printed and mailed, an appeal was published in the press, with friendly editorials to help it along, and Mr. De Peyster and his committee went out once more to raise the necessary additional funds. At the meeting of February 3d he was able to report that "the final and satisfactory completion of an enterprise, which has so long occupied your cares, your anxieties and your efforts, is henceforth assured; and that too upon its original condition, without any debt, except of gratitude to a generous public."

The collections were moved into the new building during the autumn of 1857 and on November 3d the task was completed and the Society held the dedication ceremonies which you will find described in the chapter: "Elegant Dinners and Eloquent Diners." John Ward Dean described the building in his *Historical Magazine* as follows:

> The new building of the Historical Society has a commanding situation, at the corner of Second Avenue and Eleventh Street, opposite the venerable St. Mark's Church . . . . The entire cost, nearly eighty-five thousand dollars, has been paid by voluntary contributions of the citizens of New York . . . . It was an important condition which the Society laid down at the outset, that the work should not be undertaken until its expense was provided for. The wisdom of this foresight is now seen in the quiet enjoyment of an edifice, entirely free from debt, at a season of almost universal financial embarrassment. [*The panic of 1857 was in full swing.*] A second provision was, that it should be substantially fire proof. This also is secured, with much additional elegance and convenience.
>
> "The external appearance of the building," says the *Journal of Commerce*, "is very handsome. It is solid and substantial, but at the same time has a light and graceful look, as best becomes an institution where sound historical learning and the amenities of art are fostered together . . . . [The building] sets back several feet from the sidewalk, is guarded on the north and west sides by a heavy stone railing, and is entered through a lofty door by a flight of massive steps . . . . On the first floor is the lecture and meeting room, which is a noble hall, . . . capable of containing six hundred persons. The ceiling is supported by eight elegant Corinthian columns of iron . . . . Ascending a broad iron staircase, we come to the Library and Art Gallery, which occupy the remainder of the building. The vast apartment devoted to these objects is admirably planned and finished. The proportions are good; the alcoves and shelves are durable

SEVENTH HOME OF THE SOCIETY, 1857–1908

Erected by the Society at Second Avenue and 11th Street

d elegant; the decorations in white and gold are chaste and pretty; d an abundance of light is let in from above. The floor is occupied clusively by books; the first gallery by maps, charts, engravings, and nerican newspaper files, of which the Society has the largest assortment the country; and the second gallery by pictures. The collection of intings is one of the best exhibited in the city . . . . The manuscript om, which contains vast stores of pains-taking erudition, is on the first llery."[35]

In 1858 a visitor to our building, who signed him (or her) f "L.A.R.," wrote a series of *Letters from New York* which ves something of the flavor of our first building when it was w. Let us join him (or her) for a tour of the picture galleries:

Did you ever happen to straggle into Second Avenue? It is a broad and stately street, with a sort of business artery in the shape of a city railroad track veining its center, while handsome private residences, cool, green parks and solemn-looking churches meet the casual eye on either side as far up as Twentieth Street . . . .

On the corner of Eleventh Street and Second Avenue is a handsome and substantial looking building . . . . As we ascend the long flight of steps and enter the learned precincts of the New York Historical Society Building the eye is pleasantly surprised by the beauty of the vestibule within. The ceiling is supported by tall and graceful columns, and the prevailing tints around are white and gold, while under foot is a delicate and artistic tracery of different colored mosaic marble . . . .

What a quiet, subdued atmosphere there always is in great libraries! Involuntarily, our voices sink to a whisper, and our footfalls grow lighter as we enter the vast room with its tiny-patterned carpet of green, like close-shorn grass, its long perspective railings of white and gold, the gleaming marble busts ranged at short intervals throughout the apartment, and the quiet little alcoves with their numberless treasures of Russia binding, gilded leather, and printer's ink!

See how solemn those spectacled old gentlemen look, enthroned in their cosy arm chairs, and deep in the mysteries of some huge folio or quarto gray with age and (doubtless!) bursting with solid information. I confess to being terribly afraid of such extra-learned books, and sympathize more with the younger occupants of the room who content themselves with less ponderous tomes.

But as we don't happen to be in search of forgotten lore or historic truths today, let us ascend yon stairs [*Can't you picture the elegant lady who must have written this!*], and make our way toward the famous picture gallery attached to this establishment . . . .

The third gallery, however, is the most attractive and fascinating of all. Hither congregate the ladies in all the glory of crinoline, ribbon, and lace to feast their eyes on beautiful pictures, while the less impressionable lords of creation are content to burrow among moldy volumes below stairs. [Of course *a lady wrote this, and probably a very attractive one too.*]

Portraiture seems to predominate here, although there is a fine and well-selected collection of rare landscapes, fruit and game pieces and life-pictures . . . . the cold, keen face of De Witt Clinton . . . the fine benignant countenance of dear old silver-haired Dr. Francis, whom every one likes and every one reveres, and who has an especial right to be here, inasmuch as he is, and ever has been, the guiding spirit, and the very head and front of the whole Historical Society enterprise . . . Here also is the pale brow and earnest eye of Alexander Hamilton . . . the serene, clear forehead and piercing glance of Edgar A. Poe . . . and the characteristic countenance of Rufus Wilmot Griswold . . . .

LIBRARY FLOOR OF THE OLD SOCIETY BUILDING

Second Avenue at Eleventh Street

From *Andrews' American Queen,* February 1879

What pleasant places these picture galleries are to linger in! We lounge on the sofas and chat socially, or scrutinize the little groups o stroll around, eye-glasses in hand, from picture to picture, or even p audaciously over the railing into the library below, where the nt students are bending over their tables all unconscious of the "sights" t are being taken from above stairs! . . . so we must reluctantly bid od bye to the pictures and statues, and carry away the memory of a st delightful morning, for which we must, as politely as we know v, render up our acknowledgments to the New York Historical So-y and its officials.[36]

We hope that the author of this guided tour of our building s one of our guests at the first recorded Strawberry Festival the Society, held in our old quarters at New York University June 17, 1856. She (?) would have enjoyed it.

With the erection of our building, New York had for the first time an adequate place for the collection and display of works of art and antiquity as well as the materials for the study of American history, and so it was natural that a large number of important individual portraits, landscapes, sculptures, prints, archeological and ethnological specimens were presented to our galleries, but we will mention only the outstanding collections received during the administration of Luther Bradish.

The New York Gallery of the Fine Arts was founded in 1844 and was built on the private collection of Luman Reed, a patron of Cole, Durand, Mount and other contemporary American artists. From 1845 to 1848 it occupied the Rotunda in City Hall Park, was given temporary quarters in the Academy of Design building in 1849, and finally deposited its collection of between 75 and 100 paintings, besides sculptures and prints, in the Society's building in the autumn of 1857. The collection was given to us the following spring through the good offices of Jonathan Sturges, Reed's former partner who, with Reed's son-in-law, Theodore Allen, was the principal promoter of the New York Gallery. The collection included many excellent examples of the work of Cole, Durand, Flagg, Mount, and Trumbull, numerous important American portraits and a few European paintings. It was the first large and valuable collection of art to come to the Society.[87]

In 1858 James Lenox, through Henry Stevens of London, purchased thirteen massive marble bas-reliefs from the palace of Sardanapalus in Nineveh, dating from about 650 B.C., and on December 7th President Bradish announced: "It affords me the highest satisfaction to have it now in my power to announce to you that this entire collection has been purchased by our fellow member, Mr. James Lenox, at a cost of three thousand dollars, and is now presented by him to the Society." They were received the following spring and placed in the basement, the only part of the building with a floor strong enough to bear their great weight. They were henceforth known as the Lenox Col-

ion of Nineveh Sculptures. There they remained until their
ioval to the basement of the present building from which
y were eventually lent to the Brooklyn Museum. These
ndid works of ancient art, the only others from the same site
ıg in the British Museum and the Louvre, added greatly to the
stige and interest of the Society's art gallery during the period
en we took the entire field of art history for our province.
n 1853 Dr. Henry Abbott (1812–1859), a British physician
o lived in Egypt and collected Egyptian art and antiquities
r a period of twenty years at a time when it was still possible
private collectors to assemble such a collection, brought it
New York where it was exhibited until 1858. Dr. Abbott, who
failed to recover the cost of bringing this great collection to
erica by its exhibition as a commercial venture, wished to
it and, as early as 1854, an attempt was made to meet by
lic subscription his asking price of $60,000, a modest sum
sidering that the collection had cost him $100,000 plus some
,000 in transportation and other expenses since its leaving
pt. Some $26,000 was raised towards its purchase and it was
inally hoped that the collection might be placed in Cooper
itute. But there the venture died until it was resurrected by
Society in 1859. Then a committee headed by Frederic De
ster, our prize money-getter, set vigorously to work. Cir-
ırs were distributed, public lectures on Egypt were held to
p up local interest in the collection, subscription lists were
ulated, and all but $5,000 of the remaining $34,000 had been
ed and paid over to Dr. Abbott when he died in 1859. The
aining sum was paid to his executors and, on December 21,
o, the then greatest Egyptian collection in America (it is
one of the three or four finest) was ours and was on view in
building by April 2, 1861. This splendid collection of over
o pieces included a large number of examples of Egyptian
pture, jewelry, and other works of art and archeology in-
ling "three large mummies of the Sacred Bull, Apis, the only
imens known in the world!" (Said Kelby.) They might

ART GALLERY AT THE OLD SOCIETY BUILDING

have been sacred bulls to the Egyptians and Mr. Kelby but they have always been white elephants to us—but how the public loved them! This collection attracted many visitors to the Society and was given much space in the newspapers. After its removal to the present building the collection was properly catalogued and displayed for the first time but when the new wings were added to the building, it was lent to the Brooklyn Museum and was eventually transferred to their permanent ownership.

One other outstanding collection of a very different kind and one of far greater interest and appropriateness to us became available in December 1862 when Mrs. John James Audubon offered to sell the Society the original watercolors of American birds which her husband had used in the elephant folio and later editions of his famous *Birds of America*. Once again Mr. Frederic De Peyster went to work and on June 2, 1863, announced that the necessary $4,000 had been raised and the collection was ours, thus saving for America a priceless treasure which would otherwise have gone to the British Museum.

Many oil portraits of great historical value and artistic merit were also received, one of the most interesting being that of Cornelis Steenwyck, Dutch Burgomaster of New Amsterdam and Mayor of New York under the English. There are also portraits of Rip Van Dam (lovely name!), member of the Governor's Council, 1702–1735, and his wife; James Rivington, famous New York Tory printer, after Stuart; George Clinton, first Governor of New York State, by Ames; Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States who killed Alexander Hamilton in the famous duel, by Vanderlyn; John Randolph of Roanoke, by Jarvis; Edgar Allan Poe; Captain John A. S. Sutter; eight crayon portraits of western Indians, by St. Memin; and a marble bust of John Quincy Adams, by Greenough. Of special interest was the large group engraving: *Distinguished Americans, at a Meeting of The New York Historical Society* in the large chapel of the old New York University building, including 49 portraits, all but one or two of the originals of which were drawn from life

in 1852 and 1853 by Julius Gollmann who came to New York from Germany about 1850. The engraving was made by Thomas Doney and and published by William Pate in 1854. "The first proof [before letters] is now presented on behalf of these artists. For over two years past they have devoted most of their time to this work." (Minutes.)

The Library was also enriched by many generous donors. Henry O'Rielly of Rochester began the presentation of his large collection of Western New York and early telegraphic manuscripts, a collection to which he added for many years; the American Art-Union presented their records, including 38,000 letters; we received the Revolutionary War papers of John Lamb; an important collection of Cadwallader Colden papers from the Colonial period of New York's history; Commodore O. H. Perry's letter to Commodore Isaac Chauncey, September 10, 1813, announcing his victory in the Battle of Lake Erie; the original draft of De Witt Clinton's famous memorial to the New York State Legislature in favor of a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson, 1816; and the manuscript of Clement C. Moore's famous poem *The Night Before Christmas*. And James Lenox presented a copy of the third folio of Shakespeare, 1664.

We held five large and interesting meetings in this period including our Fiftieth Anniversary celebration in 1854, with George Bancroft as orator; the housewarming for our new building in 1857; the anniversary meeting in November of the same year at which Dr. John W. Francis delivered his fascinating address on *New York during the Last Half Century;* the Washington Irving memorial meeting of 1860 with William Cullen Bryant as the speaker; and the bi-centennial of the birth of William Bradford, New York's first printer, in 1863—all of which are described in the chapter on "Elegant Dinners and Eloquent Diners."

There were paid lecture courses open to the public in 1852–1853 at one of which, at Metropolitan Hall on December 9th, 1852, George Bancroft spoke on *The Culture, the Support and*

GEORGE BANCROFT ADDRESSING THE SOCIETY, DEC. 9, 1852

Topic: "The Republican Character of Art"; place: Tripler [Metropolitan] Hall
Drawing by Eyre Crowe who attended with William Makepeace Thackeray

From Crowe's *With Thackeray in America* (London: 1893), p. 39

he Objects of Art in a Republic, with the distinguished English uthor, William Makepeace Thackeray in the audience.[38] There vas another series in 1858–1859, at one of which, on February 7, 859, Herman Melville spoke on the South Sea Islands. (How ve would have enjoyed hearing that one!) The regular monthly ectures for members were unusually well attended with many listinguished speakers, including Daniel Webster on February 3, 1852 (he died later the same year); and, on June 16, 1857, he venerable portrait painter Rembrandt Peale who spoke on *Washington and his Portraits*.

Opinions seem to have differed regarding the importance of our Society and the interest of our lectures during this period. Soon after the Society's building was opened, one of our life nembers, the 38-year-old George Templeton Strong, confided his characteristically scathing passage to his famous diary:

May 3, 1858. Looked through the premises. The New York Gallery of the Fine Arts is deposited in the cockloft. Old Luman Reed's collection is its nucleus. Vanderlyn's very gorgeous Ariadne is there—splendid in color. [*This was a loan, later recalled. It was lent by Edward Coykendall to the Senate House Museum, Kingston, New York, according to their Vanderlyn catalogue of 1938, no. 13.*] The Historical Society owns some nice books. My life membership is not absolutely valueless. The prosperity of that institution shows what activity and loud braying can do. Its corporate functions are not exalted. Its office is to collect and preserve books and MSS illustrative of our brief and barren history. That is all. The lectures and "papers" it generates so abundantly I set down as equal to zero: an estimate more charitable than accurate, for they are properly affected with a negative sign, as gaseous secretions of vanity and dilettantism. Yet this is far the most conspicuous of our literary organizations.[39]

Turning from the not-so-powerful Mr. Strong, let us see what a really great man thought of us in this same year, in a letter to the Lecture Committee regretting that his duties would not permit him to deliver a lecture to the Society:

Boston, Dec. 27th 1858

Gentlemen,

. . . Permit me, while thanking you for your courteous invitation, to express the great pleasure I enjoyed in a visit to your building and its collections. It has hardly been my privilege to pass an hour more profitably and agreeably than that of last week in examining a few of the many objects of interest contained in your invaluable treasury.

I am, Gentlemen with

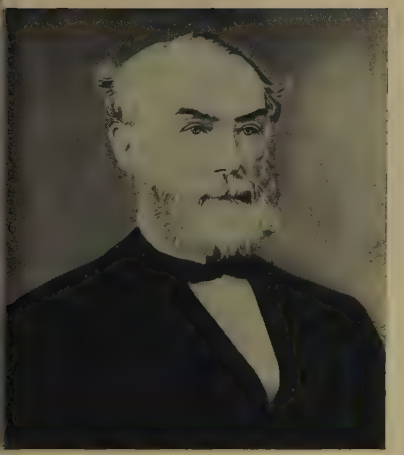
Great respect

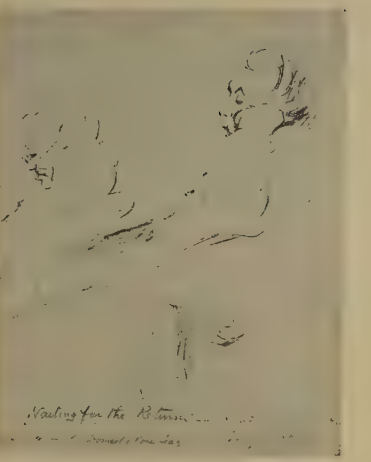
Yours very truly

O. W. Holmes

Messrs. E[dwin] J. Brown, J[acob] Harsen, Wm. S. Mayo, Thomas Hicks, George L. Duyckinck.

While our building was not located in Sleepy Hollow there does seem to be some evidence (which is sometimes borne out even today) that its lectures could be relaxing. Whether it was the warm and comfortable homelike atmosphere of the surroundings or the exhausted condition of the visitor after a hard day in the office or (perish the thought!) the soothing monotony





JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD (1814–1873) AND PENCIL SKETCH BY HIM

Drawn at the Society's annual election, Jan. 3, 1865
when the historian was elected Domestic Corresponding Secretary

of the lecturer's voice, it is certain that an occasional member or guest went fast asleep. For evidence of this we need but to glance at the accompanying sketch made at the annual meeting of January 3, 1865, when the artist, perhaps to keep himself awake while the ballots were being counted, produced portraits (unfortunately unidentified) of two of his fellow members who lacked his energy and so had succumbed. It is entitled: "Waiting for the Returns. Annual election, NYHS J[ohn] R[omeyn] Br[odhea]d Domestic Cor. Sec. [*to which honor he was at that moment being elected*] Jan. 3d 1864 [*sic*, 1865]."

We have further evidence on this soporific subject from the recollections of John Austin Stevens, a member from 1848 and the Society's Librarian from 1876 to 1878, which appears in his article: *Benedict Arnold and his Apologist:*[40]

To this battle [first battle of Saratoga at Bemis Heights] Mr. Arnold devotes a separate chapter. In this chapter, read by him as a paper before the New-York Historical Society [on October 7, 1879, entitled: "The Campaign against Burgoyne in 1777, and who led the American Troops

to Victory"], the accuracy of Mr. [George] Bancroft was questioned. Mr. Bancroft was present at the reading, but took no notice of the remarks. Later in a letter describing the lecture, which appeared in the *New York Tribune*, October 21, 1879, Mr. Arnold used these words: "Mr. Bancroft took his seat on the stage, and I turned to him and complimented him as the 'Father of American History,' and then went on to show, by the letters of Varick and Livingston, his mistakes, which I was sure he never would have made if he had ever read these letters! The audience evidently enjoyed the scene, and applauded repeatedly .... Mr. Bancroft was kind enough to say he had 'listened with great pleasure,' but directly one of the officers whispered, 'He has not heard a single word you have said; the old gentleman is very deaf.' I could only say: 'I wish you had told me that an hour ago.' But all went off well." This is a graphic description of a not uncommon scene. The atmosphere of this ancient society, particularly on the platform, is of an unusually somnolent character, and this is not the first time that an appreciative audience has enjoyed the humorous scene of an enthusiastic orator making pointed allusions to a dignitary on the stage, who remained the while utterly placid under the gentle influence of sleep. Well do we remember a similar scene, when the late William Cullen Bryant (one of the officers) [*he was First Vice-President, 1873–1878*] presided at a meeting [on October 7, 1873, when Reverend M. Cohen Stuart, Holland's delegate to the Evangelical Alliance, spoke on "The Pilgrim Fathers First Worship in North America"], and gave way to the same soothing influence. Towards the close of the lecture the reverend orator turned gracefully to Mr. Bryant, and quoted the well known closing lines from Thanatopsis. The audience applauded—and so did the venerable Mr. Bryant, awakened by the sound. The audience, to use the good stage word, "rose to him," while the unconscious president continued to lead the applause (of himself).

Somewhat similar was the scene Mr. Arnold describes so innocently. Fortunate for him perhaps that the "Father of American History" was asleep in reality. He is not troubled with deafness, and Mr. Arnold deludes himself, if he supposes that he has "caught him napping," in the ordinary acceptation of the term.

Here is yet more evidence of this regrettable but natural tendency of our elderly members. In a letter to the Society written on May 22, 1951, Mrs. William Ray Smith (Marion Parris) included the following reminiscences:

My father, Edward Lowden Parris came to New York in 1866, the year he graduated from the Harvard Law School, and practiced law in New York until 1916, when he retired. He died in 1921. He was a

GEORGE BANCROFT (1800–1891)
By Eyre Crowe, Dec. 9, 1852
From *With Thackeray in America*, p. 38

member of the New York Historical Society for many years [*he joined on March 2, 1880*] and always greatly enjoyed its meetings and lectures [*even if the supercilious Mr. Strong didn't*].

When I was growing up, I often went with my father to the lectures in the old headquarters far down town—on Second Avenue I think. They were attended by a few very old gentlemen, who all went to sleep in the course of the lectures (which I found very interesting) and I happened to catch the lecturer's eye as he glanced over his audience. Without changing his "lecturing voice," he said "As you are the only person awake in the room, with your kind permission I will omit the next ten pages," which he did, and concluded rather abruptly.

After the lectures we used to go down to the basement and sit on tombstones and marble sarcophagi and partake of what my father always called "a light collation." This consisted of the very best water-cress and lobster sandwich I ever ate, and cups of very hot, very strong chicken bouillon. All the old gentlemen, refreshed by their naps, became very lively—and a good time was had by all!

In 1857 a new volume of the Society's *Collections*, devoted to the Colonial history of New York, was published and two years later a *Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library* filled over 600 pages of the *Collections*. This was our last printed catalogue of the library. A fund was established by the Society in 1858 for the publication of materials on American history. The transferable shares were limited to 1,000 of which only 850 were ever sold, the first ten to James Lenox, each shareholder to receive one volume per year. The publication of the series was not begun until 1868 but from that date it has been continued.

The Society was greatly cheered by the receipt, on November , 1859, of its third legacy, a bequest of $10,000 from Seth Grosvenor, the income from which helped with the current expenses

A CORNER OF THE SOCIETY'S ELEVENTH STREET ART GALLERY

which had grown considerably with the opening of the new building. Encouraged by the hope of further financial support of this character, the Society proposed "to enlarge and extend their Art Collection with a view of providing a public gallery of art in this city." Such a gallery was needed. Not since the old American Art-Union had been forced in 1852 to discontinue its extremely popular exhibitions of contemporary American painting had the people of New York enjoyed the benefits of a free public gallery of art; but the Society's Art Committee, most of whom had been officers or managers of the Art-Union, were still enthusiastic supporters of the idea of promoting the aesthetic education of the public through free, perpetual exhibitions. They

hoped to make The New-York Historical Society and its growing collection of art works an instrument for such a project. Through their influence:

> The Society was the first to formulate a plan to establish a museum and art gallery for the public in Central Park, as may be seen by the action of the Executive Committee, August 14, 1860 . . . . A special committee was appointed who secured the approval of the plan by the Commissioners of Central Park and in 1862 the Society memorialized the Legislature to set apart the Arsenal Building in the Park for the proposed museum. . . . [*This action was approved by the Legislature, March 25, 1862, but*] efforts to secure the necessary funds for the promotion of the plan failed.
>
> In consequence of the low ground and the proximity of the reservoir near the Arsenal Building, the Society urged a change to higher ground in the Park. The Legislature passed an act, April 29, 1868, setting apart for the use of the Society a site in the Park, covering Eighty-first to Eighty-fourth Streets, 300 feet west of Fifh Avenue, the building to be erected at the expense of the Society.
>
> Renewed efforts were made in 1870 to carry out the plan of the Society to establish a museum of history, antiquities, and art, by the erection of a building on the new site in the Park; but owing to the great cost of the proposed building [*we still have the grandiose plans of the architect*], and the erection of the same on city property, the scheme was finally abandoned. [*But the idea was taken up and carried through by others, the result being that:*] The Metropolitan Museum of Art occupies this site, the buildings having been erected by the city at an original cost of a million dollars, with an annual appropriation from the city of $150,000. for its support.[41]

And so, although the Society did eventually open its galleries of American portraits, landscapes, and sculpture to the public at large, as an integral part of a general museum of American history, it was also instrumental in fostering the establishment of its great competitor across Central Park.

Notes

[1] Biographical sketches of the Presidents are based on R. H. Kelby's *The New York Historical Society*, 1905, and on the *D.A.B.*

[2] Unless otherwise stated, the facts of this chronological record are taken from the manuscript Minutes of the Society's meetings or from those of its Executive Committee and Board of Trustees or from its printed reports.

[3] *The Constitution and Bye-laws of The New-York Historical Society, instituted in the City of New-York the 10th day of December, 1804.* New York: Printed by T. & J. Swords, No. 160 Pearl-Street. 1805. 15 p., 8vo. (The address *To the Public* and the *Queries* will be found in the Appendix.)

[4] The original constitution, act of incorporation, with its amendments, and the first and present By-laws will be found in the Appendix.

[5] Mrs. Anne (Macvicar) Grant of Laggan, author of *Memoirs of an American Lady* [Mrs. Philip Schuyler who died in 1758], London, 1808, 2 vols.

[6] *Collections of the New-York Historical Society, for the year 1809. Volume I.* New-York: Printed and published by I. [saac] Riley. 1811. vi, [2], 428 p., 8vo.

[7] *Discourse on a General Geographical, Political, and Historical View of the Red Men Who Inhabited New York before Us,* by DeWitt Clinton. New York: 1811. 77 p. Also in our *Collections,* Vol. II, 1814, p. 37–116. "It remains one of his major essays. It is romance wrought from reality. It is knowledge and understanding. It was, when he spoke it, and has been since, a model of historic narrative." (Dorothie Dobbé: *DeWitt Clinton,* 1933, p. 179.).

[8] Remarks of Dr. John W. Francis, the 1812 Librarian, in response to a toast at the Fortieth Anniversary dinner in 1844, in *Proceedings for 1844,* p. 84.

[9] R. H. Kelby: *The New York Historical Society,* 1905, p. 24–25.

[10] *Catalogue of the Books, Tracts, Newspapers, Maps, Charts, Views, Portraits, and Manuscripts, in the Library of The New-York Historical Society.* New York: From the press of J. Seymour. 22 Dec. 1813. 139 p., double column, 8vo. Also issued as part of the *Collections,* Vol. II, 1814.

[11] *Papers of Jeremy Belknap,* III: 490.

[12] James Renwick: *Life of DeWitt Clinton.* N.Y., 1859, p. 116.

[13] R. H. Kelby: *The New York Historical Society,* p. 27.

[14] This and the following quotations from John Pintard are taken from the *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter, 1816–33.* New York Historical Society *Collections,* vol. 70 and 71, 1940.

[15] R. H. Kelby: *The New York Historical Society,* p. 32.

[16] This scheme for a state subsidy was doomed to failure for we learn that "In March [1818] John Pintard journeyed to Albany to work for passage of a bill which would have provided $6,000. annually for the support of the city's learned societies, the [American] Academy [of the Arts] among them. But Clinton's foes in the legislature prevented its passage. Pintard then resigned as Treasurer of the Academy." (Harold E. Dickson: *John Wesley Jarvis,* New York: 1949, p. 210).

[17] Original letter in the Society's archives.

[18] *Procès verbal of the ceremony of installation of President of the New-York Historical Society as it will be performed February 8, 1820. "Quantum est in rebus inane."—Society's Motto.* New-York: Printed for the use of the members. 1820. 18 p., 8vo. Reprinted in 1864 in an edition of 35 copies, 13, [2] p., 4 to., perhaps by the author or by the better-remembered New York Dutch literateur, Evart H. Duyckinck, whose presentation copy to the distinguished local book collector, William Menzies, dated November 21, 1864, is in the Society's library in a half green morocco binding. Robert H. Kelby, in his history of the Society, 1905, p. 139, definitely attributes this work to Gulian C. Verplanck.

[19] For this act, see Appendix.

[20] *Memoir of De Witt Clinton.* By David Hosack. New York: 1829, p. 144.

[21] *New-York Historical Society* [Officers, memorial to the legislature by Frederic De Peyster, Jr., Report of the Senate on the Society's bill, act for the relief of the Society, address of President Hosack, March 13, 1827, announcing the passage of the bill, resolutions of thanks, and list of members] New York: 1827. 32 p., 8vo. Address of Dr. Hosack also in *New York American,* March 15, 1827, and in other local papers.

[22] The original manuscript catalogue, in a folio volume, has the following inscription in the hand of John Delafield, Sr.: "Catalogue of the Books in the Library of the New York Historical Society compiled and arranged by John Delafield and presented to the Society on the [blank] day of May, 1833."

[23] From original letter owned by General John Ross Delafield, son of the recipient. A photostat copy is in the Society's archives.

[24] Minutes of the Society, April 6, 1841.

[25] For a detailed and interesting account of our sixteen years residence in the Gothic building of New York University on the east side of Washington Square see LeRoy E. Kimball's article: "The Old University Building and the Society's Years on Washington Square," in our *Quarterly*, July, 1948, p. 149–219, illus., and the same as a separate.

[26] *Collections of The New-York Historical Society. Second series. Volume I.* New York: 1841. 486 p., 2 plates, folded map, 8vo.

[27] Philip Hone comments most enthusiastically on this series of lectures in his diary: "November 15, 1841. Jared Sparks, for the Historical Society, is engaged in a course of eight lectures on the 'Events of the American Revolution,' to which crowds so numerous are attracted that the chapel of the new University cannot hold them, and they have to adjourn to the Tabernacle, the omnium gatherum and grand holdall of the city."

[28] For an excellent brief sketch of the life of Albert Gallatin by Luther Bradish see the unpublished Minutes of the Society for October 2, 1849; and for John Russell Bartlett's "Reminiscences of Albert Gallatin," see our *Proceedings* for 1849, p. 281–298.

[29] *A Memoir on the North-Eastern Boundary, in connection with Mr. Jay's Map, by Albert Gallatin; Together with a Speech on the Same Subject, by Daniel Webster, delivered at a Special Meeting of the Society, April 15, 1843.* New York: 1843. 74 p., map. Also in the Society's *Proceedings for 1843*.

[30] *Proceedings for 1845*, p. 27.

[31] *Annual Report of the Executive Committee for 1847*, p. 8.

[32] *Proceedings of The New-York Historical Society on the Announcement of the Death of Luther Bradish, October, 1863.* New York: 1865. 24 p., port.

[33] "The Old University Building and the Society's Years on Washington Square." by LeRoy E. Kimball, in the Society's *Quarterly*, July, 1948, p. 191.

[34] Fully reported, with a description of the building and with the addresses of the day in the *New York Times* and the other newspapers of the city, October 18, 1855.

[35] *Historical Magazine*, December, 1857, p. 369–370.

[36] *Life Illustrated*, New York, September 4, 1858, p. 147.

[37] For a brief history of The New York Gallery of the Fine Arts, see Winifred E. Howe: *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Vol. I, 1913, p. 62–67.

[38] *New York Times*, *Herald*, and *Evening Post*, December 10, 1852; Eyre Crowe: *With Thackeray in America*, 1893, p. 38, for sketch of Bancroft delivering the lecture.

[39] "Mid-Nineteenth Century Life in New York: More Revelations from the diary of George Templeton Strong." By Milton Halsey Thomas, in our *Quarterly*, January, 1953, p. 19.

[40] "Benedict Arnold and his Apologist," an essay reviewing: *The Life of Benedict Arnold, his Patriotism and Treason*, by Isaac N. Arnold, Chicago, 1880. By John Austin Stevens, in *Magazine of American History*, March, 1880, p. 185–186.

[41] R. H. Kelby: *The New York Historical Society*, 1905, p. 53–55; Winifred E. Howe: *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Vol. I, 1913, p. 42.

THE MUSIC OF NEW YORK CITY 1797–1804

by GEORGE G. RADDIN, JR.

THE NATIVE inhabitants of early New York loved music. Indeed, the stranger could scarcely have failed to note this fact, for it would have been difficult to remain long in town without becoming aware of the musical activity. Although, to a great extent, this popular taste for music was acquired from the cosmopolitan society abroad, which many prominent and influential New Yorkers sought to imitate, music was a cherished native Protestant middle-class heritage, whether stemming from English, Scottish, Welsh, Palatinate, Moravian, or French sources. Many of our best-loved tunes have come down to us from the Protestant psalters and hymnals of the 17th and 18th centuries; and many popular secular songs and opera arias of the 18th century have survived as well-known hymns and sacred songs.

Efforts were made to improve church music in New York. On the 7th of January 1740, *The New-York Weekly Journal* advertised that a Mr. Winter kept "a Singing School of Psalmody near the lower end of the Broad Way." Andrew Law, a Singing School Master, on the 2d of January 1786, observed in *The New-York Packet* that it was "generally acknowledged by those, who have an ear and taste for church music that this" was "performed in a mean and wretched manner in many of our Churches in this city." On the other hand, with the settlement of increasing numbers of Moravians, German Lutherans, and German Reformed Lutherans, many of whom brought with them skill and knowledge of good music, the general standard of performance began to improve and taste to broaden. The theater also exerted an influence; and, between the years 1797 and 1804—one of the most productive periods in the early history of the city—the popular English stage-music of the time—composed by Thomas Attwood, James Hook, Samuel Arnold, William Reeve, and

TITLE PAGE FROM A VOLUME OF EARLY AMERICAN SHEET MUSIC

Gift of Miss Lucille de Luce Foley, 1950

Charles Dibdin—was heard as frequently in New York as in London.

The best evidence of progress in musical taste in New York during the decade prior to the Revolution was the presentation of "an Extract" from Handel's *Messiah* in George Burns's Music Room in the old City Tavern on the 16th of January 1770. In his *Handel's Messiah A Touchstone of Taste*, Robert Manson Myers points to this occasion as the first on which any part of this famous oratorio was heard "west of the Atlantic." Thereafter Handel's compositions grew in popularity. On the 20th of October 1785, the following advertisement appeared in *The New-York Packet:* "Organ—For Sale, a Beautiful, well-toned Chamber-Organ, plays an oratorio by the celebrated Handel, and forty of the most favorite tunes. Originally cost Fifty Guineas, and will be sold for Thirty." By the last decade of the century, Handel's

position in New York musical circles was firmly established. Mr. Myers also notes the importance of "the earliest known complete vocal score of *Messiah* published in America," by Sage & Clough of New York in 1803.

Recovery after the British occupation was slow. A great many who had been influential in New York musical circles left the city with the British; and the new leaders had little success in fostering activity until 1789, when the Musical Society of the City of New York was instituted with George Gilfert as Director. Gilfert, who had come from Philadelphia in 1785 to teach the organ, later became organist of the New Dutch Church. The St. Cecilia Society was established in 1791; but progress, although steady, was slow until the peak of commercial prosperity was reached in 1797. By this time there were not only talented musicians in the theatrical companies and a distinguished group of professional musicians in New York; but also, what is more significant to the historian of manners and taste, there were teachers, lawyers, merchants, doctors, tradesmen—men from all walks of life—who sought in music a release from the vigorous exertion of New York daily life, and their appreciation of music was greater, perhaps, than of all the other arts.

By 1797 the musical life of the town was in a flourishing state. David Longworth, who, the year before, had taken over the publication of the annual city directory, published in 1797 the names of fifteen professional musicians and six music teachers.[1] However, of these individuals who considered themselves to be mu-

[1] The fifteen professional musicians listed in Longworth were: Henry Gabel, Bayard, corner of Winne Street, Bowery; George Gilfert, 34 Dey Street; Mons. Henry, 69 Chamber Street; William Hoffmaster, 187 William Street; George Himmelman, 29 Church Street; Thomas Hollis, 29 Cheapside; Peter Jacobi, 36 Church Street; John A. Johnson, 251 Greenwich Street; William Myler, 29 George Street; Victor Pelissier, 58 Ann Street; Frederick Rausch, 289 Broadway; John Reevling, Winne Street; Silas Stansbury, 384 Pearl Street; George Ulshoeffer, 3 John Street; and Charles Watt, 116 Fly Market.

The six music teachers included in the directory for 1797 were: John Desez, music teacher, 86 Nassau Street; James Hewitt, professor of music, 71 Cedar Street; Christian Loss, music teacher, 24 Dey Street; John C. Moller, professor of music, 58 Vesey Street; George E. Saliment, professor of music, 39 Liberty Street; and Weldon, music teacher, 44 Dey Street.

icians, there were at least two who did not devote all their time o music; John A. Johnson also kept a tavern at 251 Greenwich Street, and George Ulshoeffer was a grocer in John Street. There were undoubtedly many others who did not depend entirely upon their playing and teaching for a living, but there remain exceptionally few traces of their names or their favorite instruments and melodies in the old letters and journals, for these give only brief glimpses of a life more intimate and personal than is revealed in public records. On the other hand, newcomers to the town customarily advertised their services in the newspapers; and, in 1797, two new musicians appeared to supplement the ranks of New York musical talent. In August, a Mr. Dubois returned to the city and advertised that he intended to give lessons in "*Musique Vocale & Instrumentale, sur le violin, la guitare ou la Clarinette*" at his house in Ann Street.[2] Another "Professor of Music," G. F. Weizacker, arrived in November to give "lessons on the *Piano Forte* and *Guittar*."[3]

Frederick Rausch, Victor Pelissier, and James Hewitt were, apparently, the most accomplished musicians of New York in 1797. The town was proud of these men; and they were, with George Gilfert, John C. Moller, George E. Saliment, and several distinguished amateurs, largely responsible for the excellent quality of the music heard in the city. In the evening of New Year's day—which was a Sunday in 1797—Dr. Alexander Anderson and his brother John went to the Van Vleck's, where they found Frederick Rausch "at the Piano Forte," and, "closely attending him," their Moravian host, Mr. Isaac Van Vleck, who was well known in New York musical circles for his devotion to music. Later in January, John Anderson again met Rausch at the Van Vleck's and was impressed by the musicianship of the man. That night, before he retired, the young lawyer wrote in his diary that Rausch had "played masterly on the forte piano."[4]

[2] *Gazette Francaise*, August 15, 1797.
[3] *Diary and Mercantile Advertiser*, November 15, 1797.
[4] John Anderson, *Diary*, January 27, 1797. *Ms.*, *NYHS*.

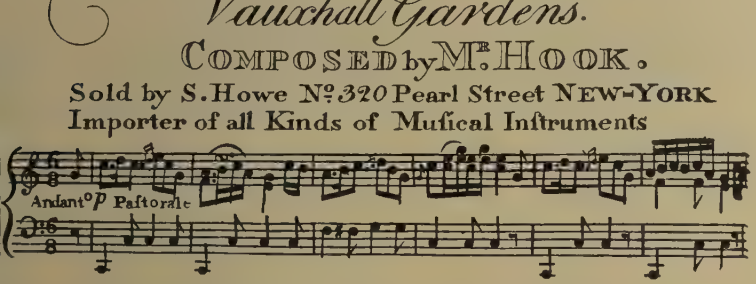
The town supported the musical magazine of George Gilfert & Co. and provided work for eleven musical instrument-makers.[5] William Howe was the only organ-builder in the city. He also kept a store at 320 Pearl Street, where the New Yorker could buy musical supplies and almost any instrument he desired. I. C. Schwartzholtz at 450 Pearl Street, Thomas Western at 64 Maiden Lane, and Whaites & Chartres at 19 Barclay Street made pianofortes, although many of the finest of these instruments were imported from Europe. Ahasuerus Turk and Albert Smith were turners by trade, but they fashioned musical instruments as well. These craftsmen, however, did not supply all the wants of the town and country; vast quantities of instruments were imported from abroad.

William Howe, the chief importer of instruments and music supplies advertised in the spring of 1797 that he had recently received from London "a great variety of Musical Instruments," including, of course, "finger organs, grand and small piano fortes of a superior quality," and "common guitars." These, with "an excellent peddle harp, violincellos, violins, tenors, bassons, clarinets, hoeboys, flutes, fifes, French horns," and "trumpets" were offered for sale at his "Music Store" in Pearl Street, an establishment which had been the "late Mr. Dodd's."[6] Howe's store offered variety enough to excite the curiosity of the amateur of music and to stimulate the collector's instinct of the more affluent New Yorkers, who were proud to own valuable instruments of rare tone and skillful workmanship.

In 1797, it was customary for New Yorkers of moderate

[5] Longworth's directory includes the following musical instrument-makers: Christian Claus, musical instrument maker, 4 Dover Street; Thomas Dodds, musical instrument maker, 287 Broadway; George Gilfert & Co., musical magazine, 177 Broadway; William Howe, organ builder and musical instrument store, 320 Pearl Street; I. C. Schwartzholtz, piano forte maker, 450 Pearl Street; John Selden, musical instrument maker, 25 Chapel Street; Albert Smith, turner and musical instrument maker, 86 John Street; Ahasuerus Turk, turner and musical instrument maker, 35 Nassau Street; Peter Utt, musical instrument maker, 76 Barclay Street; Thomas Western, patent piano forte maker, 64 Maiden Lane; Whaites & Chartres, piano forte makers, 19 Barclay Street; Archibald Whaites, musical instrument maker, 19 Barclay Street.

[6] *The Daily Advertiser*, May 1, 1797.


She lives in the Valley below
A NEW SONG.
Sung by Master Gray at
Vauxhall Gardens.
COMPOSED by Mr. HOOK.
Sold by S. Howe Nº 320 Pearl Street NEW-YORK
Importer of all Kinds of Musical Instruments
Andant° p Pastorale

FROM A VOLUME OWNED BY PETER N. SCHENCK OF NEW YORK IN 1801

Gift of Mrs. Samuel L. Weisbrod, 1949

means, particularly the younger men, to buy several of the instruments—the violin, the flute, the French horn, the guitar, and the pianoforte—which had become favorites with the amateurs of music. These purchases, especially the pianoforte, called for real self-denial; but New York produced young men of spirit and determination; they often made the personal sacrifice and applied themselves to learning to play the instruments with an enthusiasm and devotion they did not always display for the profession or business they had set out to follow for money. In May, John Anderson, who would become twenty-five on the 20th of July 1797, sought refuge from his reading and his small practice of law by playing on the violin at dusk in his office.[7] John also played the pianoforte[8] and the flute,[9] while Alexander, his older brother, played the violin for his own and his friends' entertainment. On the 4th of December, Alexander "sat awhile" in the evening with John Roberts, the engraver, and "heard some Scotch music from

[7] John Anderson, *Diary*, May 26, 1797. *Ms., NYHS.*
[8] *Ibid.*, September 16, 1797.
[9] *Ibid.*, December 5, 1797.

him and a Mr McKenzie." Dr. Anderson thoroughly enjoyed music of all kinds. He went to hear the anthem and ode sung by the Uranian Society at the 4th of July celebration, and he noted in his diary that "Aylesbury" was "the first regular tune" to be "play'd on the Bells" of Trinity Church on the Christmas morning of 1797.[30]

Musical societies played an important part in the social life of New York, and the eagerness with which New Yorkers met weekly to rehearse and to give public and private concerts revealed as much as anything else the real interest the New Yorker had in music. These societies served to improve popular taste in music, to raise the standard of professional musicians, and to perfect the quality of amateur performance; moreover, they became, perhaps, the most obvious indication that other fires than those kindled by Mercury and Mammon burned in the breasts of New Yorkers.

In 1792, there were two groups that sponsored music: the New York Musical Society and the St. Cecilia Society. The leaders of both societies were amateurs. Henry Will was then director of the New York Musical Society—the older of the two institutions —and James H. Kipp and Stanton Latham were, respectively, treasurer and secretary. The St. Cecilia Society, which had been organized in 1791, had, in 1792, elected David Mitchelson president, Lewis Ogden treasurer, and Isaac Van Vleck, who had been director of the Musical Society in 1791, secretary. The Columbian Anacreontic Society was formed early in 1795, and the Harmonical Society was founded in March 1796.

By 1797 the New York Musical Society had passed out of existence, and the Columbian Anacreontic Society had become the most influential musical group in town. Besides the Anacreontic and the St. Cecilia, which had been "instituted with a view to cultivate the science of Music, and a good taste in its execution," there were two other organizations in New York devoted to music: the Harmonical Society, established "for the pur-

[30] Alexander Anderson, *Diary*, December 25, 1797. *Ms.*, *CUL*.

COLUMBIAN ANACREONTIC SOCIETY BADGE

Inscribed: "Will[m] Dunlap"
[H. G. Stevens' badge is at the society]

pose of cultivating the Knowledge of Vocal and Instrumental Music," and the Uranian Musical Society, founded "for improvement in sacred and vocal music."[11] Samuel Rudd and Gad Ely, prominent schoolmasters of the city, were members of the council of the Uranian Society.

James Hodgkinson, the widely known comedian, was president of the Anacreontic Society, and James Hewitt was a member of the "standing committee," although, only the year before, he St. Cecilia, the chief rival of the Anacreontic, had boasted hat "the principle professors of music" in the city were "members and performers" in the concerts which the society "held veekly on Saturday evenings."[12] While the St. Cecilia Society ıad in past years been the most important of the groups socially, he Columbian Anacreontic Society, by 1797, was able to achieve membership that included many names—Bleecker, Livingston, Maitland, Shaw, Cuyler, Beekman, Winthrop, and Morris—amous in New York society. Aquila Giles, the United States

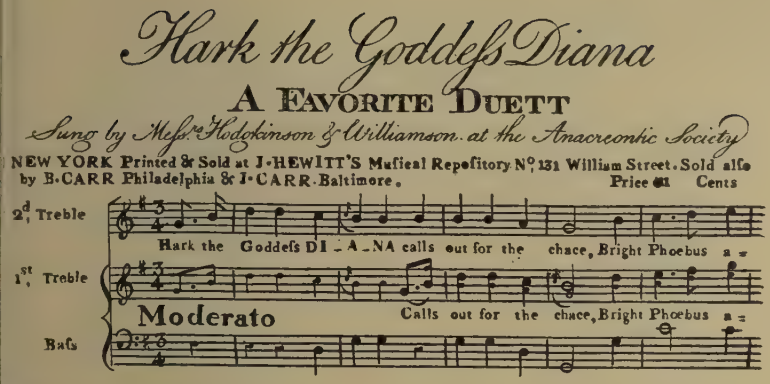
[11] *Longworth's American Almanack, New York Register, and City Directory, or . . . 1797*, p. 81.

[12] John Low, *The New-York Directory, and Register for the Year 1796*. Appendix, p. 64.

attorney for the New York district, was second vice-president and a member of the standing committee.

After the election of new officers on the 17th of January 1797, the Columbian Anacreontic Society held most of its meetings in the assembly room of the "new Tontine Hotel in Broadway." Almost always the regular weekly meetings were called for six o'clock, and visitors were invited at seven to listen to the music. The first "Ladies Concert" of the season was held on the last day of January at seven o'clock in the new City Hotel assembly room in Broadway. On this occasion, members were warned by the secretary that they would not be admitted to the concert unless they wore "the Medal of the Society." These ladies' concerts were important formal functions; and, apparently, the members did not even permit business engagements to interfere with their attendance. Dr. Alexander Anderson "attended at 6 o'clock" that night "at Simmons's Tavern, in consequence of receiving a Subpoena to witness a will which had been sign'd at *Bellevue*—after waiting some time, the referees adjourn'd because the attornies could not be found—they were both at the *Anacreontic Society* Concert."[18]

Typical of the public concerts held in 1797 was the one given on the 7th of February by Frederick Rausch, James Hewitt, and George E. Saliment at the Assembly Room of Louis Gaultier in William Street. The program, which opened with an overture by Haydn and closed with a finale by Pichl, included a pianoforte concerto by Mr. Rausch, a violin concerto by Mr. Hewitt, and a flute concerto by Mr. Saliment. Songs were sung by Mr. Tyler and Mrs. Hodgkinson, popular favorites of the New York stage. Two glees, "Come live with me and be my love," and "Adieu to the Village Delights," and an arrangement of the "Battle of Prague," by Mr. Hewitt, for full orchestra, completed the program. Following the concert, "a ball" was conducted by John Hamilton Hulett, the dancing master of 12 Cedar Street. And for this evening's entertainment New Yorkers paid ten shillings, a

[18] Alexander Anderson, *Diary*, January 31, 1797. *Ms., CUL.*

Hark the Goddefs Diana
A FAVORITE DUETT
Sung by Meſs^rs Hodgkinson & Williamson at the Anacreontic Society
NEW YORK Printed & Sold at J. HEWITT'S Muſical Repoſitory N° 131 William Street. Sold alſo by B. CARR Philadelphia & I. CARR. Baltimore.
Price 81 Cents
2^d Treble
1^ſt Treble
Bass
Hark the Goddeſs DI - A - NA calls out for the chace, Bright Phœbus a -
Moderato
Calls out for the chace, Bright Phœbus a -

FROM A VOLUME OWNED BY PETER N. SCHENCK OF NEW YORK IN 1801

Gift of Mrs. Samuel L. Weisbrod, 1949

sum which ensured a most brilliant, polite, and fashionable gathering.[14]

A similar public was attracted to the most important series of public concerts of the year, held during June and July in Vauxhall Garden, 112 Broadway. This concert series was planned and arranged by the manager, Joseph Delacroix, who hoped to give to his outdoor pleasure-garden the cultivated tone and popular appeal enjoyed by the famous London Vauxhall Gardens, for which the New York resort was named.

The New York Vauxhall Garden, according to Delacroix's statement in the newspapers on the 10th of June 1797, was "fitted up"—and that, too, "at a very great expense"—"in a most elegant manner," to resemble "Vauxhall Garden, near London," on the Thames, "as near as the situation" on lower Broadway, not far from the Battery, would "admit." Actually, there could have been little resemblance between the two gardens beyond the common name, the music, and the fact that both were outdoor pleasure-gardens. The London Vauxhall boasted "walks"—the Grand Walk, the South Walk, the Druid's or Dark Walk—which, by 1797, had become thoroughly familiar to many Americans as the

[14] *The Minerva, & Mercantile Evening Advertiser*, February 3, 1797.

setting for romantic and ludicrous encounters in several of the celebrated novels of the day. The situation on Broadway did not permit Delacroix to imitate these promenades, but he did create an open-air concert and refreshment hall, suggested by the London Vauxhall "Grove," in which, in his series of concerts, he endeavored to provide for New York the instrumental and vocal music which the London world of fashion, as well as the merchants and tradesmen and their wives, flocked to hear. As for "elegant manner," the decorations of the Broadway garden, no matter how novel or attractive they might be to the New Yorker, could not rival those of the Thames Vauxhall, which was ornamented with a "Waterworks," such famous paintings as the "surrender of Montreal to Amherst," and Louis Francis Roubillac's statutes of Milton and of Handel "in the character of Orpheus playing on his lyre."

Delacroix's Vauxhall Garden was opened on the 13th of June "with a CONCERT of *Vocal and Instrumental Music*,"[15] the first of a series of concerts originally designed to be given on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings, "precisely at 8 o'clock," at a cost of four shillings.[16] The last of these musical offerings was a "Grand Concert" held "In Honor of the President of the United States." The program planned for this night, the 28th of July, ended with "A Transparency of the President, with grand Illuminations."[17]

New York's fashionable folk, and those people who could afford the four shillings for tickets, sat in Delacroix's illuminated garden, refreshed by the tang of the salt breezes blowing over the battery and up the wide lane of Broadway, to listen to George E. Saliment, flautist; John C. Moller, pianist; James Hewitt, violinist; and Weldon and Desez—all of them music teachers—play the music which delighted London audiences on the other side of the Atlantic. The compositions of Haydn and Pleyel,

[15] *The New-York Gazette and General Advertiser*, June 10, 1797.
[16] *Ibid.*, June 27, 1797.
[17] *The Minerva, & Mercantile Evening Advertiser*, July 28, 1797.

both great favorites in London, were frequently heard here in New York, as were the works of others who had established reputations in the British capital—Carlo Giuseppe Toeschi, Christian Cannabich, Johann Wenzl Anton Stamitz, all masters of the Mannheim School. Other popular composers represented in the Vauxhall repertory, but less well known today, were Jean Baptiste Davaux, Franz Anton Hoffmeister, Rodolphe Kreutzer, Giovanni Battista Martini, Joseph Aloys Schmittbauer, and Paul Wranitzky. Others—Dibble, Leffler, Musterope, Paderchi, Perdoni, Poloniska, Tresler or Treller, and Wiska—have long since been forgotten by the public.

The overtures and sinfonies—like Martini's "Battle Overture" and Stamitz's "Sinfonie La Chasse"—the "full pieces," and other compositions for strings and wood winds not only delighted the New York audiences but also carried them into the musical world of England and the Continent. The vocal music on the programs was more distinctly British and sweetly sentimental. Songs like "A pretty little Plow Boy" and "Sweet Lass of Richmond Hill" or "Court me not to Scenes of Pleasure," if one may judge from the titles, were calculated to arouse the romantic sensibilities of the audience—particularly when sung by attractive actors and actresses—as effectively as the novels circulated by Hocquet Caritat in Pearl Street. For those who preferred something heartier, there were glees like "Hark the Hollow Hills Resounding" and "Hail Social Pleasure."

The disastrous yellow fever epidemic of 1798 halted all musical activity in New York for a time, and recovery afterward was slow and uncertain. William Howe's widow undertook to carry on the music-store business he had left to her care in Pearl Street. The musicians connected with the playhouse, who, in 1798, had occasionally given music lessons privately and organized concerts in Madam Gaultier's Assembly Room in William Street and in Columbia Garden facing the Battery, took up their accustomed activity when the season opened in 1799. The amateurs of music who were members of the St. Cecilia, the Uranian,

the Haydn, the Harmonical, and the Columbian Anacreontic Societies had been particularly active in 1798 until the yellow fever came; and, when the epidemic was over, they made an effort to resume their meetings, rehearsals, and concerts. However, the musical life of the city was not to be taken up again where they had left off. In 1799, the St. Cecilia and the Harmonical Societies joined forces, and out of this union was created the Philharmonic Society. Two other groups, the Polyhymnian and the Euterpean Societies were also founded in 1799, the former possibly late in 1798.[18] During these two years, New York music lovers heard many compositions that had not been included in the concert programs of 1797,[19] and one of the most "celebrated" of these works was the overture from Domenico Cimarosa's opera *Il Fanatico burlato*, which was played in Columbia Garden on the 17th of August 1798.

During the early winter months of 1799, the inhabitants of New York endeavored to recapture their former spirit of gaiety, but not, however, with conspicuous success. On the 8th of January, Mr. Duport, Professor of Dancing, "at the particular solicitation of the first families" of the city, gave a ball at Hunter's Hotel in Broadway—an affair which was opened by Mr. Duport's "Daughter, a Child of only ten years," who displayed "the graces in several fancy dances." The performance included "The Arcandian Nymph, with music and dress adapted, ex-

[18] The following notice from *The New-York Gazette and General Advertiser* for April 4, 1799, indicates that the organization of the society took place very late in 1798: "Polyhymnian Society. The Members are hereby notified, that the first quarterly meeting takes place To-Morrow Evening, when new Officers to the Society will be chosen. By order of the President, Edward C. King, sec. april 4. 2t."

[19] Composers heard in New York in 1798 and 1799 but whose names did not appear in concert programs in 1797: Christophe Willibald Glück, André Ernest Modeste Grétry, Charles Ditters de Dittersdorf, François Antoine Hoffmeister, Martini il Tedesco, Johann Christian Vogel, and Domenico Cimarosa. One of the most interesting musical advertisements of the year was that of James Hewitt in *The Daily Advertiser* for February 13, 1798, in which he informed "the Amateurs of Music" that he had just "received a Consignment of Music from the celebrated Ignace Pleyel, at Paris," which included works by Wilhelm Cramer, Johann Georg Distler, Jean Pierre Duport, Jan Ladislav Dussek, Domenico Ferrari, Adalbert Gyrowetz, Jarnowick, François Antoine Rosetti, Daniel Steibelt, Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel, and Jean Baptiste Viotti. Compositions by Pleyel and Haydn "and other eminent composers" were also included in the shipment, which was offered for sale at the Musical Repository, 131 William Street.

hibited at Boston with unbounded plaudits"; followed by the "admired French Dance of Richard Coeur de Leon and a Hornpipe"; an "English plain Minuet; also, De la Cour's Minuet and Gavotte," and the "Moutsetine."[20]

All of the musical compositions played in New York in 1800 —in the semiannual concerts of the Philharmonic Society; in the Ladies' Concerts of the Columbian Anacreontic Society; in concerts given by James Hewitt, George E. Saliment, Henry Gilfert, and other New York musicians;[21] in benefits for Mrs. Grattan, Miss White, or other singers of the theater; or in the "Grand Concerts" held in Columbia and Mount Vernon Gardens—followed closely the pattern of London. Popular songs sung by actors and actresses from the theater were interspersed between instrumental numbers from the works of Haydn, Pleyel, the Mannheim School, and other Continental composers to whom London music-lovers and the public had given approval and support.[22] In 1800, New Yorkers enjoyed such popular favorites as the overtures from Rodolphe Kreutzer's opera *Lodoïska*, Johann Christian Vogel's *Démophon*, and Glück's *Iphigénie en Aulide*.

There were a few concerts during the late winter months of

[20] *The Daily Advertiser*, January 8, 1799.

[21] Longworth's directory for 1800 lists the names of the following musicians: John Beckett, Lewis Benoit, Jacob Boston, James Everdell, George Himmelman, J. H. Hoffman, William Hoffmaster, Thomas Hollis, Peter Jacobus, Francis Kelly,—Massue, Victor Pelisier, and George Ulshoeffer. Included also are the following teachers or professors of music: John Deseze, Peter Erben, Henry Garval, John C. Moller, Frederick Rausch, George E. Saliment, Isaac Samo, and Peter Weldon. There were four musical instrument-makers: John Montgomery, John Selden, Albert Smith, and Archibald Whaites; two pianoforte-makers, Michael Canschet and Whaites & Chartres; one organ-builder, John Geib & Co.; and four music storekeepers, George Gilfert, James Hewitt, Widow of William Howe, and John & M. Paff.

[22] Works of the following composers appeared on the concert programs of New York in 1800: Rodolphe Kreutzer, Johann Christian Vogel, Christophe Willibald Glück, Ignaz Joseph Pleyel, "Arogart," Leopold Kozeluch, Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel, Johann Wenzel Anton Stamitz, Franz Joseph Haydn, Giovanni Giuseppe Cambini, Paul Wranitsky, John Baptist Vanhall (Wanhal), "Cornell," Muzio Clementi, Jan Ladislav Dussek, Leopold August Abel, Adalbert Gyrowetz, Giovanni Battista Borghi, "Kreubzen" (probably Kreutzer), Wenzel Pichl, Carl Stamitz, Franz Anton Hoffmeister, "Monchausen" (probably Franz Xaver Anton Murschhauser), Anton Filtz, "Bottelswiller," "Von Duelman," "Ponelli" (probably Arcangelo Corelli), Johann Christian Bach, "Minschiul," "Puzzlestopper," Ernest Eichner, Leopold Hoffman, "Kruontrohitz" (probably Johann Baptist Krumpholz), Franz Xaver Richter, "Clipum," and "Coddieman."

1801, but the season really got under way about the first of May. Shortly afterward "L" sent to the *Commercial Advertiser* one of the rare musical reviews of this early period, which reveals the musical taste, as well as the standards of musical criticism, at that time.[23]

As in every other field of endeavor, the emphasis was on the

[23] "The musical societies of this city do honor to their institutors. Music is one of the noblest arts that exists, and is more congenial to mankind than any other, as it is in reality the harmonized language of the passions; it refines the mind, renders it more susceptible of delicate impression, excites to action our most noble passions, can command the mind to sympathy or rouse it to the impetuous.

"So fully was Quinetilian convinced of the effect of music upon the mind, that in his institutes of Rhetoric, he considers the study and knowledge of it particularly essential to an Orator.

"Indeed this art is coeval with language itself, for we find that it is the custom of the most rude barbarians to lament the death of their friends, and heroes in plaintive dittys, and to accompany their relics with the tributary dirge of sorrow to the sepulchre: And on the other hand when any particular event of prosperity or victory occurs to these, their notes of grief and despondency are altered into those of gaiety and sprightliness.

"How much more rational are these amusements than the more fashionable but insipid parties, that associate for the sole purpose of shuffling and dealing cards, particularly when money is the object and fruit of success; all the dregs of the soul (if I may use the expression) are uppermost, and literally speaking, there is an uninterrupted warfare between the parties during the whole time of play—Whereas these noble entertainments offer a luxurious feast of delight, where every individual has the privilege of an equal share.

"On Thursday, the monthly meeting of the Philharmonic Society was graced with the presence of the divine Cecilia of New-York, Madame Deseize. It is with peculiar satisfaction we remark the unrivalled or rather unequalled excellence of this lady. While she 'wakes to extacy the lyre' her syren voice melts the soul to pity, excites it to joy, or elevates it to the lofty and sublime.

"The manner of her singing is wholly original—though devoid of the least quaver or shake, yet fraught with those superior graces that confer exquisiteness on harmony; indeed her pathetic and tender strains intoxicate the soul with agonizing bliss.

"Her figure is so really enchanting when seated near the Harp and touching the obsequious chords with her snow white fingers, that she appeared a being supernatural, and I am almost inclined to believe, that in ancient times they would have been so lost in the effects of her heavenly inspired sounds, as to be persuaded some of the Deities had really descended from the Olympian abodes to shew mortals the full power of music.

"Mr. Fox was very happy in the sweet little air of 'When Pensive I thought of my Love.' To conclude, I think I can not be more full than in quoting an author of the last century.

> "'Music the fiercest Grief can charm,
> And Fates severest rage disarm:
> Music can soften Pain to ease,
> And make Despair and Madness please
> Our joys below, it can improve,
> And antidote the Bliss above.'"

[*Commercial Advertiser*, May 9, 1801]

novel or new in music. During the year, principally throughout the summer at Vauxhall, Mount Vernon, and United States Gardens, New York audiences were favored with selections that had not become familiar through frequent repetition: compositions like the "Grand Scene" selected from Antonio Maria Gasbere Sacchini; the overture to Nicholas Dalayrac's opera *Camille ou le Souterrain;* the overtures from Glück's *Iphigénie en Aulide*, Kreutzer's *Lodoïska*, and Vogel's *Démophon*—all three performed the year before also; the overture to Pierre Antoine Doménique Della Maria's *Le Prisonnier;* the "Battle Overtures" of Bach and Martini; and "Grand Military Music after the manner of the Turks."

In June 1801, John Christopher Moller, Peter Weldon, and James Mitchell engaged Vauxhall Garden for the summer season and introduced "a variety of New Music."[24] Charles Territt opened a new music shop in Pearl Street, making, with Gilfert's, Hewitt's, and Paff's, four music stores in the city. Paff's offered for sale "New French Cotillions," composed by Duport, and the dancing master's "New Set of Cotilions, called after the American Navy," and the "United States Country Dances"—all new works designed to meet special needs of the time.

But perhaps progress was evidenced best of all by John Geib's announcement in September that the organ he had built for Christ Church would be finished in a few days. A concert, consisting of organ music and a few anthems to be "sung by a few private gentlemen," was planned for the 17th of September at 5 o'clock in Christ Church to celebrate the event and to exhibit the organ. It was a great day for New York; one of its own craftsmen had fashioned a grand modern church organ of the kind that had formerly been obtained only in England or on the Continent. Moreover, this Christ Church organ was to be played by a distinguished artist, the celebrated Dr. George K. Jackson, who had come to assume a leading place in the town's musical life.[25]

[24] *The Daily Advertiser*, June 8, 1801.

[25] Longworth's New York directory carried the names of the following musicians, music teachers, and musical instrument-makers in 1801: Lewis Benoit (musician), Michael Chanschet (piano-forte maker), William Child (musical instrument-

In 1802, the two chief musical societies of the city were the Columbian Anacreontic and the Philharmonic; and, of these two, the Columbian Anacreontic appears to have been the more active and fashionable. Mrs. Alexander L. McDonald, with her husband and two others, went to the annual ladies' concert of the Anacreontic Society in the evening of the 16th of February and reported that "the Company was very brilliant, but the vocal part of the Music was but indifferent."[29] Mrs. McDonald's diary account, however, differed in its musical judgment from the report of the "FEAST OF ANACREON," which appeared on the 17th of February in the *New-York Herald*, although the reporter agreed with her on the social brilliance of the occasion:

> The Columbian Anacreontic Society last evening gave their annual Ladies' Concert in a style of superior elegance. The whole suite of apartments occupied by the City-Assemblies, was thrown open on this occasion. No pains or expense had been spared to provide suitable entertainment, and Mrs. *Oldmixon*, whose musical powers, have long since acquired her great celebrity, was procured from Philadelphia.
>
> The company assembled at an early hour and were numerous beyond any former occasion. The Ladies had generally taken ornaments of *coquelico*, in compliment to the Society; and it was only requisite that the seats should have been constructed amphitheatrically, to have exhibited a *spectacle* the most striking, brilliant, and fascinating.

Mrs. McDonald and the reporter were not in agreement on the merits of the concert itself, which opened with Storace's "Grand Overture to Mahmoud," performed by full orchestra under the

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maker), John Deseze (music teacher), Peter Erben (teacher of music), James Everdell (music teacher), John Geib and Co. (organ-builders), George Himmelman (musician), J. H. Hoffman (musician), William Hoffmaster (musician), Thomas Hollis (musician), Mott King (musician), William Minieuse (teacher of French and music), John C. Moller (professor of music), John Montgomery (musical instrument maker), Victor Pelissier (musician), Frederick Rausch (professor of music), John Selden (musical instrument maker), Albert Smith (musical instrument maker), George Ulshoeffer (musician), Peter Weldon (professor of music), Archibald Whaites (musical instrument maker), and Whaites and Chartres (piano-fortemakers). There were also four music stores in the town of which George Gilfert, James Hewitt, John & M. Paff, and Charles Territt were the proprietors. Gilfert and Hewitt were also numbered among the city's most distinguished musicians.

[29] Elizabeth DeHart Bleecker (Mrs. Alexander L. McDonald), *Diary*, February 16, 1802. *Ms., NYPL.*

eadership of James Hewitt. The reporter singled out Mrs. Oldnixon and Mrs. Hodgkinson for particular praise. Of the lady rom Philadelphia, he said:

> Mrs. O. in her first [Thomas Attwood's "Each coming day"] pleased y sweetness and simplicity; in her *bravura* [Giuseppe Giordani's "Pity ıy tortured heart"] she astonished by the prodigious compass of her oice; her flute notes in *alte*, in a particular manner excited the admiration f the audience; which was expressed in loud and universal applauses; ourtesy to the stranger as much perhaps as approbation of her performance caused these plaudits to be again and again repeated. The song, owever, most calculated to *charm the listening ear*, was Mrs. Hodgkinon's second—Her "Sweet passion of Love" [by Thomas Augustine rne] was given with a delicacy of tone; a distinctness of articulation; force of emphasis, and a degree of impassioned tenderness which eached every heart.

In conclusion, the two critics were agreed:

> The sense of *tasting* was not forgotten by the managers any more than ıat of hearing; between the acts the gentlemen retired to the tea-room, here they found a plenty of substantial refreshments; while a profusion f fruits and delicacies was served round to the ladies by the gentlemen f the society;—this part of the evening's amusement was received by the ompany with marks of approbation not easily to be misunderstood.

An interesting variety of musical compositions was heard in New York throughout the year: religious music, such as selecons from Handel's *Messiah* and James Kent's anthems; operatic vertures, especially those from Grétry's *Panurge dans l'île des anternes* and Dalayrac's *Camille ou le Souterrain;* operatic seections which included a "Grand Scene" from Dalayrac's *'omeo et Juliette* and another from Boieldieu's *Caliph of Bagdad;* rchestral compositions like the "Grand Sinfonie, characteristic f the peace with the French Republic, composed by the celerated Wrani[t]zky, consisting of ten descriptive movements."[27]

[27] *Commercial Advertiser*, March 17, 1802. This French Revolutionary symphony, ɔmposed by Paul Wranitzky, was given at James Hewitt's concert and consisted of e following movements: "1. The Revolution. 2. March of the English. 3. March the Austrians and Prussians. 4. Procession and Death of Louis XVI. 5. Funeral larch. 6. March of the English. 7. March of the Allies. 8. Tumult of a Battle. Negociations for Peace. 10. Joyful exclamations for the return of Peace."

Haydn's "celebrated Farewell Overture," and "The Battle of Marengo, with full orchestra"; and various instrumental selections composed by Ignaz Joseph Pleyel, Johann Samuel Schroeter, Rodolphe Kreutzer, Jean Baptiste Viotti, Pietro Guglielmi, and others.[28]

In the evening of the 5th of August 1802 Mrs. McDonald and her husband, with a group of friends, went "on the Battery to hear the Music—a party of Gentlemen got a boat, and anchor'd off the Battery and gave a handsome Serenade."[29] Hodgkinson, the actor, was manager of this musical affair, which, according to the complaint of "*A Party of Ladies near the Battery*," printed in the *Commercial Advertiser*, had not been successful because "the wind being directly off shore, and" the musicians "so far off that the people on shore could not distinguish the different Duetts, &c." The ladies suggested that "a barge, with good rowers," would be "much more convenient than a sail boat."[30] Water concerts on the Thames—water concerts on the Hudson; however, Hodgkinson and his fellow New Yorkers had something to learn from the English concerning the staging of these outdoor performances.

The music heard in New York in 1803 and 1804 varied little from that included in the concert programs of previous years, with the possible exception of Mozart, who, in 1804, was more popular than ever. Opera music was being played more fre-

[28] The following musicians were listed in Longworth's directory for 1802: Jacob Boston, Henry Goebell, Ithamar Healy, George Himmelman, William Hoffmaster, Thomas Hollis, George K. Jackson, Peter Jacobus, Christopher Emmerson, James Everdell, Thomas Fraser, Mathew King, James Mitchell, Nicholas, Victor Pelissier, Henry Purcady, and George Ulshoeffer. The following music teachers were included in the directory: John Deseze, Henry Gilfert, Peter Erben, Adam Geib, John C. Moller, and Frederick Rausch. The following musical instrument-makers and music stores were also listed by Longworth: William Childs, "musical instrument-maker"; Thomas Gibson & M. Davis, "mus. inst. mak."; George Gilfert, "musical magazine"; John Geib & Co., "organbuilders"; John Montgomery, "musical instrument maker"; John & M. Paff, "musical store"; Albert Smith, "musical instrument maker"; Charles Territ, "music shop"; Whaites and Chartres, "pianoforte makers"; and James Hewitt, "musical repository."

[29] Elizabeth DeHart Bleeker, *op. cit.*, August 5, 1802.

[30] *Commercial Advertiser*, August 6, 1802.

uently; and, besides the familiar overtures of Kreutzer, Steibelt, lück, Vogel, and Grétry, were heard the overture from Marni il Tedesco's *Henry IV, ou La Bataille d'Ivry*, another from mes Sanderson's *Blackbeard*, a song from Sacchini's *Didone bbandonata*, and a "Grand Scene" from *Ariodant*, probably the pera by Etienne Henri Méhul. Other compositions which were layed during 1804 were the "London Overture" and "Grand verture" by Haydn, a "Finale" by Adalbert Gyrowetz, and a Grand Overture," "Finale," "Minuetto," and "Rondeau" by lozart.

Occasionally, descriptive and timely historical compositions peared on concert programs. A benefit in April 1804 given nder the leadership of James Hewitt for Mr. De Chateaudun, ianist, and Miss De Brueys, harpist, both French refugees from anto Domingo, included a fantastic program piece described in ne following manner:

> The sufferings of the queen of France, a musical piece expressing the propriate emotions excited by the following situations—1st, Her imrisonment—2d, Her reflections in the prison—3d, Her separation from er children—4th, Her farewell to her children—5th, Her sentence of eath—6th, Her resignation to her fate—7th, Her situation the night bere her death—8th, The guards enter the prison—9th, Dead march—[th], Tumult of the people—11th, Last prayer of the queen—12th, Her ll—13th, Apotheosis—full band.[21]

This mournful, enervatingly sentimental, romantic music, robably most popular with the more progressive musical amaeurs, was in marked contrast to the more spirited nationalistic ffering of June, at James Hewitt's own concert in the Columbia arden, which was advertised as:

> New Overture, descriptive of the loss of the Philadelphia Frigate, o. 1 Cruizing—Tripolitan ship heaves in sight. No. 2. Orders for chasg—firing at the enemy. No. 3. Among the rocks—she strikes. No. 4. ripolitans attack the ship—they board her. No. 5. Grief of the Ameriin officers and sailors. No. 6. Tripolitan March, on landing the prisoners. o. 7. Preparations made by the Commodore to burn the Philadelphia.

[21] *Morning Chronicle*, April 23, 1804.

No. 8. Officers take leave of the Commodore, and sail to execute his orders. No. 9. The attack & burning the Philadelphia. No. 10. Rejoicing of the sailors for their victory and return. No. 11. Hail Columbia.[32]

The musicians of the city certainly knew how to snare attention and delight the New Yorker. The concerts were pleasingly varied, with popular songs of a comic sort like *Bonaparte and the Mammoth*, and with sentimental numbers like the *French Complaint*, sung "By a Girl of nine years," and a "Mr. DELARUE lately arrived from Paris." To ensure attendance, the concerts were very often followed by balls; and, in 1804, there was a stimulating variety of French dancing masters to conduct them if one were quite bored with the efforts of the well-established John Hamilton Hulett: Flintoff, Berault, La Taste, Lalliet, Fleury, Delarue, Claude Thouin, and Trigant de Beaumont.

Although the Philharmonic and Columbian Anacreontic Societies were still the acknowledged leaders in the city, there were also other groups such as the new Apollo Society, "*Under the direction of James Everdell.*"[33] In March 1804, the New-York Musical Society of Amateurs gave a concert for the relief of "the unfortunate sufferers by the late fire at Norfolk," and were so successful they decided to get "in forwardness Handel's grand Oratorio of the MESSIAH, for the purpose of establishing a benevolent fund."[34] In December, the society was giving a concert of anthems by "Key," Samuel Arnold, Handel, and Thomas Williams.[35] A new musical school also came into being on the 25th of October—the School of Sacred Music, "under the direction of Messrs. KITCHELL, BLACKLIDGE & Co." The classes were held Monday and Thursday evenings "during the season, in the

[32] *New-York Evening Post*, June 4, 1804.

[33] *The Weekly Visitor, or, Ladies' Miscellany*, December 24, 1803: "APOLLO SOCIETY. *Under the direction of James Everdell.* The members of this society are informed, that its meetings will commence on Tuesday evening, Dec. 27, and be continued on every Tuesday, at the house of Mr. Everdell, No. 90, in Chamber Street. Persons wishing to become members, may be made acquainted with the regulations, by applying to Mr. Everdell."

[34] *The Visitor, or Ladies' Miscellany*, March 17 and 24, 1804. Also the *New-York Evening Post*, March 17 and 21, 1804.

[35] *The Visitor, or Ladies' Miscellany*, December 1, 1804.

ront upper room over the Rev. J. Townly's church in Warren-treet."[36]

In 1804, the New Yorker could buy in the city almost every nusical instrument his heart desired, for there were the stores of ohn & Adam Geib, John Geib & Son, Gibson & Davis, George Gilfert, James Hewitt, J. Kearsing & Sons, D. Mazzinghi, John & M. Paff, Widow Sarah Terret, and Whaites & Chartres to serve im. At Paff's could be bought a half-dozen new songs just pub-ished by Joseph Willson, "organist in Trinity Church."[37] Regi-nents were "furnished with compleat sets of Instruments" at Gilfert's,[38] and D. Mazzinghi offered "an assortment of elegant Piano Fortes, with Additional Keys, by the following esteemed nakers, Astor, Ball, and Clementi."[39] Paff's advertised everything rom "finger and barrel Organs" to "French Horns," newly rrived "by the ship Martha, from London," in June.[40] Both Whaites & Chartres and Gibson & Davis offered "Piano Fortes to Let on hire."

By 1804 it was possible for the New Yorker to preserve the llusion of living in a cultivated atmosphere very like that of London and Paris. And not to be scorned were the many op-ortunities to hear and to study music. The New York music hops offered for sale a wide variety of scores and instruments. Above all, vocal and instrumental music were very much the ashion; and, as it was in London, the popular taste was moving rom the Mannheim School to the Italian opera and the new omantic composers.

[36] *The Daily Advertiser*, October 23, 1804. In 1804, Longworth listed the follow-ng musicians: Jacob Boston, "musician"; John Deseze, "music & French teacher"; eter Erben, "teacher of music"; James Everdell, "musician"; Adam Geib, "teacher f music"; J. C. Goldbergh, "teacher pian. forte"; Ithamar Healey, "musician"; ieorge Himmelman, "musician"; J. H. Hoffman, "musician"; William Hoffmaster, musician"; Dr. George K. Jackson, "professor of music"; Peter Jacobus, "musician"; ierre Jean, "musician"; Mathew King, "musician";—Nicholan, "musician"; V. elissier, "professor of music, millinary-store"; Frederick Rausch, "professor of usic"; George Ulshoeffer, "musician"; and Joseph Wilson, "teacher of music."

[37] *New-York Evening Post*, June 30, 1804.

[38] *Morning Chronicle*, July 7, 1804.

[39] *New-York Evening Post*, August 20, 1804.

[40] *Ibid.*, June 28, 1804.

GRATA PAYSON WILLIS PARTON (1811–1872)

From the Memoir (New York: 1873) by her husband, James Parton

Copy in The New-York Historical Society Library

FANNY FERN: OUR GRANDMOTHERS' MENTOR

by Elizabeth Bancroft Schlesinger*

THE FIFTIES and sixties marked a great turning point in the history of American women. Events were quietly alter-ig the old Victorian pattern in lives as well as fashions. The ncient myth, that only the "better classes" should read books, as vanishing in the wake of the great waves of young people merging each year from the public schools. This group, finding lelville, Poe, and Hawthorne too sophisticated for their palates, raved stories which they could readily understand. Publishers, ager to attain a new market, searched for writers who would ppeal to simple tastes. A host of industrious scribblers, many f them women, quickly responded, filling the air with the con-ant "hum of small voices." The literati, however, dismissed ese effusions as "inspired mediocrity."[1]

Since women had more leisure to read than men, special at-ntion was given to their interests. Though "female" periodi-als had appeared early in the nineteenth century, most of them ere short-lived with limited circulations until *Godey's Lady's ook* and the magazines of Graham and Peterson swept the field the 1840's and 1850's. The success of these monthlies inspired ublishers to issue weeklies, the *New York Ledger* in 1851 being e best known. Robert Bonner, its shrewd, audacious editor, lled his paper with sentimental romances and lurid melodramas, ut, by paying his contributors handsomely, he was able to per-ade leading clergymen, college presidents, editors and literary gures to lend respectability to his pages. His most popular fea-

* Mrs. Schlesinger, wife of Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, historian at Harvard, as contributed to *William and Mary Quarterly*, *Harvard Educational Review*, *New ngland Quarterly*, and other magazines. This is her first appearance in this uarterly.

[1] *Southern Quarterly Review*, April 25, 1855, 450, 443.

ture, however, was a regular column signed with the name Fanny Fern.

This paragon, born Grata Payson Willis[2] in 1811 in Portland, Maine, later changed her first name to Sara. The family soon moved to Boston where her father attained prominence as the editor of the *Youth's Companion*. Two brothers, Nathaniel P. and Richard, achieved some distinction in New York literary and musical circles. Sara received the greater part of her education at the renowned seminary of Catharine Beecher in Hartford, Connecticut. Henry Ward Beecher on a visit there wrote that Sara "was a blonde, had a very fair face and flowing flaxen hair. She was quite a bewitching little creature. One of the prettiest girls in Hartford."[3] "Sal Volatile," though a childhood nickname, characterized her personality which fizzed, foamed, and sparkled throughout her life.

Marrying Charles H. Eldredge, the son of a leading Boston physician, in 1837, she lived a contented housewife in Brighton, Massachusetts, for nine years. The death of her young husband, closing the door possibly to the happiest days of her life, left her with two small children and no income. While relatives came to her rescue, their help was insufficient. This situation probably hastened her marriage to Samuel P. Farrington, a prosperous Boston merchant, which proved an unhappy venture ending shortly in divorce. She blotted out this experience from her life, never afterward acknowledging its existence.[4] Sewing and teaching failed to produce the necessary funds, so, weeping and discouraged, she sat down at her desk and took up her pen, a weapon which many women in these decades had found successful in keeping the wolf from the door.

The *Mother's Assistant*, according to James Parton, accepted

[2] Biography taken from James Parton, ed., *Fanny Fern: A Memorial Volume* (New York: 1873); James C. Derby, *Fifty Years among Authors, Books and Publishers* (New York: 1884); James Parton and others, *Eminent Women of the Age* (Hartford: 1868); J. S. Hart, *Female Prose Writers of America* (Philadelphia: 1855); and *Dictionary of American Biography*.

[3] Derby, *Fifty Years*, 219.

[4] Conversation with Ethel Parton.

er first piece in 1851.[5] It is puzzling, however, to decide which nagazine originally published her work as her sketches ap-eared also in two other Boston periodicals, the *True Flag* and ne *Olive Branch*.[6] When Fanny saw her small items copied not nly in Boston newspapers but elsewhere, she decided to try vriting as a livelihood. Short paragraphs, sometimes signed Olivia Branch but more often Fanny Fern, began to turn up uite frequently. Floral pseudonyms were fashionable among eminine writers of this period, and Fanny's was inspired by ond memories of sweet ferns she had picked as a child for her nother.[7] An amusing but malicious book, the *Life and Beauties f Fanny Fern*, published anonymously in New York in 1855, escribed her at the age of forty-four as "a full, commanding voman. She looks high, steps high, and carries her head high. he has light brown hair, florid complexion, and large, blue yes. . . . She has a luscious cheek, large nose, slightly aquiline, nouth of character, if not of beauty, and a vigorous chin. Fanny n't handsome, and never was. But she has a splendid form, a harming foot and ankle, a fascinating expression and the man-ers of a queen."[8]

Her sprightly written paragraphs, appearing in many news-apers and magazines throughout the country, caught the eye of amuel Derby, a New York publisher, who proposed a collec-on of them. *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio* immediately ecame a best seller in 1853, adorning thousands of parlor tables oth here and abroad, even finding its way into the libraries of Harvard professors. A second series and a juvenile soon followed, ringing the total sales to 132,000 in this country and 48,000 broad, "equivalent to a sale of a million copies to the popula-ion of the 1940's,"[9] and making the name Fanny Fern gleam in ountless homes.[10]

[5] Parton, *Fanny Fern*, 52.
[6] *The Life and Beauties of Fanny Fern* (New York: 1855), 37–38.
[7] Derby, *Fifty Years*, 212.
[8] *Life and Beauties of Fanny Fern*, 53.
[9] J. D. Hart, *The Popular Book* (New York: 1950), 94.
[10] Hart, *Female Prose Writers*, 472.

Oliver Dwyer, the owner of two popular magazines, now invited her to go to New York to write exclusively for his papers. She left Boston in 1854, and from that time onward New York became her home. Her brothers, even though editors of magazines themselves, took little interest in her writing. Nathaniel, in fact, returned a manuscript to her, saying it was not up to the standard of his *Home Journal*. A young assistant editor, James Parton, resigned in protest, an act deeply affecting the lives of both the young man and the lady concerned.[11]

Robert Bonner, always on the prowl for new attractions, recognized Fanny's unusual qualities and in 1856 offered her the unheard-of sum of $100 for a weekly column, thus making her probably the highest-paid writer of her time. While Fanny's pride undoubtedly winced at the thought of associating herself with a magazine like the *New York Ledger*, she found the proposal irresistible. This relationship, continuing for the rest of her life, established her as one of the first women to have a column of her own. Bonner, a skillful advertiser, believing in the power of repetition, frequently bought whole pages of newspapers in order to print over and over a single sentence: "Fanny Fern writes only for the *New York Ledger*"[12] to acquaint the nation with his prize contributor. In the midst of a whirlwind of acclaim Fanny married the gallant former assistant editor of the *Home Journal*, James Parton, eleven years her junior. Neither was to find the happiness each expected. They remained together, however, and after Fanny's death his marriage to her youngest daughter made up for the disappointment of his earlier years.

Her publishers, eager to encourage the golden flow, induced her to write a novel. *Ruth Hall* appeared in 1854, selling more than 50,000 copies within eight months.[13] This was indeed

[11] Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel P. Willis* (New York: 1855), 352. Milton E. Flower, *James Parton* (Durham, N. C.: 1951), 23, denies this story as the cause of Parton's resignation, but fails to clarify the situation.

[12] F. L. Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties* (New York: 1940), 180.

[13] Hart, *The Popular Book*, 94.

oman a clèf, for the flimsy dress woven about the characters revealed their identities in a scandalous manner. Since Fanny had always been at her best in writing about her own experiences, his tale naturally followed that pattern. Ruth Hall's life paralleled that of Fanny's own. She attended a boarding school whose mistress was strangely similar to Catharine Beecher. Marrying, he lived happily until the death of her husband left her with children to support. Her father-in-law was a physician, who, like Fanny's own parent, seemed indifferent to her plight. The career of Hyacinth, a brother of Ruth's, followed closely that of Nathaniel P. Willis. Ruth's romance, after becoming a successful writer, quickly brought to mind that of Fanny and James Parton.

The book was widely praised and damned. Grace Greenwood (Sara Jane Lippincott), a contemporary journalist, called "Ruthless Hall."[14] A reviewer in *Harper's* considered it the worst exhibition of bad taste ever displayed in literature. "If the work were written to sell," he continued, "it has succeeded. It has sold universally; and that profoundly interesting question whether Ruth Hall is Fanny Fern has been debated from the Penobscot to the Mississippi."[15] Most reviewers had to acknowledge, however, that in spite of its banality the novel was never boring. The icy blasts from the literary world did not chill this exotic plant which, warmed by the sun of public approval, flourished luxuriantly. Even Hawthorne, with all his grumbling about "scribbling women," wrote to his friend William D. Ticknor, "I have since been reading *Ruth Hall;* and I must say I enjoyed it a good deal. . . . Can you tell me anything about this Fanny Fern? If you meet her, I wish you would let her know how much I admire her."[16]

Fanny, oblivious of the fact that she had done anything unusual, was surprised at the clamor.[17] After publishing one other

[14] Parton, *Eminent Women of the Age*, 74.
[15] Hart, *The Popular Book*, 94.
[16] *Letters of Hawthorne to William D. Ticknor* (Newark: 1910), I: 78.
[17] Conversation with Ethel Parton.

story, *Rose Clark* in 1857, however, she decided her talent lay in the magazine field. Her evanescent columns, caught between ornate covers, appeared at intervals as *Fresh Leaves* (1857), *Folly as It Flies* (1868), *Ginger Snaps* (1870), and *Caper-Sauce* (1872). Spiced with humor, satire, sentiment, and advice, they delighted thousands of readers both here and abroad. Though many of these sketches today seem trivial and worthless, some illumine the life of women in the mid-century. In any event her books were never ignored. The British *Athenaeum*, commenting at length on *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio*, declared that "her leaves were artificial rather than natural" and that her pages overflowed "with sentimental gush."[18] The *Democratic Review*, dismissing the volume as "literary Barnuminia," concluded that "Two thirds of her passion and pathos is mere gas. Nine-tenths of her humor is sheer nonsense." But even this reviewer considered her "amusing and readable." He lamented, however, "When we see such a book *the* book of the day, where is American genius?"[19] *Harper's*, on the other hand, "regarded her success as a good omen," for it marked the decline of "stilted rhetoric and scholastic refinement," while the *New York Tribune*, in analyzing the causes for her triumph, decided it was "her fidelity to Nature, and her sympathy with the most universal tastes."[20]

As literature her books have little merit except as revealing popular taste. As social history, however, they do much to disclose the life that went on quietly behind the stiffly starched curtains on many a shady American street. Fanny expressed her views on women's rights, birth control, husbands, housekeeping, courtship, the rearing of children, homosexuality, careers, religion, and scores of other topics. To countless housewives, her word was "law and gospel," so what she had to say is important as reflecting the thoughts and interests of women of the time. She

[18] *Athenaeum*, October 22, 1853, 1254.
[19] *Democratic Review*, XXXIII (1853), 187.
[20] Hart, *Female Prose Writers*, 473, 474.

ncouraged her sisters to enlarge their horizons, she prepared iem for the ballot, and she stimulated them to more independnce in their own lives.

Believing that women had minds well worth cultivating, she :joiced that "the idea is losing ground that a woman's mentality erils puddings and shirt-buttons."[21] She agreed with her readers iat "Grid-irons and darning-needles are getting monotonous. A irt of their time the women of to-day are content to devote to ieir consideration when necessary; but you will rarely find one at least among women who *think*—who does not silently rebel gainst allowing them a monopoly."[22] On the other hand, she erated the matron or maid who presumed housekeeping beneath er—"I repudiate the idea that any one of these duties is beneath ny woman"[23]—but she understood too that, while a woman ight be a good housekeeper, "it need not of necessity follow iat she 'hankers after it.'"[24] She often challenged wives themlves to glance beyond the rim of their daily duties, for she was ire there were "few women with a desire for intellectual imrovement, who cannot secure it if they will."[25]

As to the relationship between men and women, she inquired, Would the world lose anything of social happiness or moral renement by the intellectual equality between the two sexes?"[26] witting men, she suggested, "If husbands took half the thought or, or interest in, their wives' *minds*, that wives are obliged to ke for their husbands' *bodies*, women would be more intelgent."[27] The double standard of morality offended her. "The reat Law-Giver made no distinction of sex, as far as I can nd out, when he promulgated the seventh commandment, nor ould we," she declared.[28]

[21] *Caper-Sauce* (New York: 1872), 48–49.
[22] *Folly as It Flies* (New York: 1868), 61.
[23] *Ibid.*, 71.
[24] *Caper-Sauce*, 271.
[25] *Folly as It Flies*, 72.
[26] *New York Ledger*, March 13, 1858.
[27] *Folly as It Flies*, 29.
[28] *Caper-Sauce*, 36.

She made fun of the many guides for young wives, calling them "moral Molasses."[29] Humorously she sketched the bride flying upstairs to read a chapter "supposed to be suited to her complaint," and then hastening down to "apply the worthless plaster to the matrimonial sore."[30] Such counsel aroused her scorn, as did the books which always made cheerfulness for wives the first article of their creed "with no margin left for crying babies, or sleepless nights or incompetent 'help'. . . ." "Suppose we put the boot on the other foot, and require the men to come grinning home."[31]

Birth control was not discussed in polite society, but this did not trouble Fanny. She continued to talk about the subjects close to her heart, and overworked mothers with too many children was one of these. "I would like to write a book on some kinds of legal murder; that is if really *good* people had not such moonshine notions about 'delicacy.' This class are really the drags on the wheel of reform. . . . What of the ten or twelve, even healthy children, 'who come,' one after another, into the weary arms of a really good woman, who yet never knows the meaning of the word *rest* till the coffin-lid shuts her in from all earthly cares and pain?"[32] She wished three instead of six children for the tired mother, "so that the care of them might be a pleasure instead of a weariness."[33]

To simplify housework she suggested, "Don't *have* a 'best carpet;' don't *have* a 'best sofa.' Let in the sun, and the birds, and the children, though it involve bare floors and wooden chairs."[34] Much of the toil in the home was unnecessary, she reminded her followers: "Nobody will thank you for turning yourself into a machine. When you drop in your tracks, they will just shovel the earth over you and get Jerusha Ann Somebody to step into your

[29] *Fresh Leaves* (New York: 1855), 210.
[30] *Ibid.*, 210.
[31] *Fresh Leaves*, 210; *Ginger Snaps*, 46.
[32] *Ginger Snaps*, 70; *New York Ledger*, March 12, 1861.
[33] *Folly as It Flies*, 61.
[34] *Ginger Snaps*, 39.

noes."[35] She noted that "something besides cleanliness is necesary to make home really home."[36] From her pages one may gather that this period, like our own, had its share of frustrated females. Fanny attributed "the root of all this discontent" to the "physical inability of women to face the inevitable cares and duties of married life."[37]

The family purse, in the second half of the nineteenth century, was firmly clutched in father's hand. Fanny deplored the humiliating spectacle of the head of the household doling out money to his submissive wife with strict injunctions as to how it should be spent.[38] She was modern also in her ideas of dress, admitting that she found trousers comfortable and convenient for walking in the rain[39] and also for skating.[40] Evidently chided for such an outrageous statement, she remarked later that she hated herself in men's clothing, wistfully adding, "Yet, I want to run my fingers through my cropped hair some fine morning, the bore of dressing it; to put on some sort of a loose blouse affair, it must be pretty rough—and a pair of Turkish trousers,—not bloomers, and a cap or hat."[41] She opposed the heavy black mourning robes that were the fashionable convention of the day, asking, "Is real heartbreaking grief to be gauged by the width of a hem, or the length or thickness of a veil?"[42] Hoop skirts she derided: "any woman who has not faith enough in her Maker's taste and wisdom, to prefer her own bones to a whale's, deserves the fate of Jonah—minus the ejectment."[43]

In her ramblings through the field of feminine interests, she devoted much space to the rearing of children. A firm believer in their rights, she recommended: "When ever there is this decided

[35] *Ibid.*, 40.
[36] *New York Ledger*, April 6, 1868.
[37] *Folly as It Flies*, 51.
[38] *Life and Beauties of Fanny Fern*, 325–326; *Ginger Snaps*, 114.
[39] *New York Ledger*, July 3, 1858.
[40] *Caper-Sauce*, 61.
[41] *New York Ledger*, July 10, 1858.
[42] *Ginger Snaps*, 41.
[43] *Fresh Leaves*, 304.

antipathy, nature should be respected, *even in the presence of the smallest child*."[44] Including diet in this statement, she criticized mothers who forced their little ones to eat food they hated. This radical idea, though accepted in the next century, no doubt was too advanced for even Fanny's devoted followers. "Childhood is outraged," she exclaimed, when parents insist that their youngsters kiss everybody and when they "stretch or dwarf children of all sorts, sizes and capacities, on the same narrow Procrustean bed of scholastic and parental rule."[45] Maintaining that "each requires different and appropriate nurture according to its capacities,"[46] she praised those "parents who have learned to respect the *individuality* of their children. Who are not madly bent upon planting them in the family garden in set rows."[47] School days were not always as happy as they were pictured, she informed her readers, and often the young suffered more than their fathers and mothers knew. The mission of parents, as she conceived it, was not "to crush out this or that faculty, or bias," but "to modify and direct by judicious counsel."[48] She often protested against the long school hours and the amount of homework required.[49] Objecting to the use of the word "Tom-boy" to describe an active girl, she remarked , "'Tom-boys' have lungs and chests and rosy cheeks, and grow up to be healthy mothers of healthy children."[50] When fond mamas asked her whether she approved of beaux, she replied, "Why not? Don't every rosebud draw its hummingbird? . . . It is your repression that does the mischief—your ignoring your own youth and hers."[51]

Homosexuality was a word as yet unknown, though its existence was recognized, as Fanny's piece entitled "Women Lovers" indicates:

[44] *New York Ledger*, July 3, 1858; *Folly as It Flies*, 234; *Ginger Snaps*, 310.
[45] *Folly as It Flies*, 305.
[46] *Ibid.*, 305; *New York Ledger*, April 16, 1859.
[47] *Caper-Sauce*, 172.
[48] *Folly as It Flies*, 297.
[49] *Ibid.*, 83–84.
[50] *Ginger Snaps*, 120.
[51] *Caper-Sauce*, 123.

'erhaps you don't know it, but there are women that fall in love with ach other. Woe be to the unfortunate she who *does the courting!* All he cussedness of ingenuity peculiar to the sex is employed by the 'other arty' in tormenting her. She will flirt with women by the score who re brighter and handsomer than her victim. She will call on them ftener. She will praise their best bonnet, and go into ecstasies over their resses. She will write them more pink notes, and wear their 'tin types'; nd when despair has culminated, and sore-hearted Araminta takes to er bed in consequence, then only will this conquering she, step off her edestal to pick up her dead and wounded.[52]

In the mid-nineteenth century most people attended church o hear the Scriptures read and interpreted. Fanny rebelled gainst this convention, writing, "I want to carry something ack with me wherewithal to fight the devil through the week. don't want the ancestry of Jeroboam and Ezekiel and Keran-appuck raked up and commented on; or any other fossil dodge, o cover up the speaker's barrenness of head or heart. I want omething for *today*—for over-burdened men and women in his year of our Lord 1869."[53] She maintained that it was "quite s important" for the clergy "to show us how to live here as ow to get there."[54] Her ideal preacher was not always seeking 'refuge in 'the Ark,' for fear of saying something that con-ervatism will hum! and ha! over,"[55] but someone with human railties who is "sometimes tempted and tried, and is not too lignified to own it."[56] She knew that many people besides her-elf went to church "to be soothed, and helped, and propped, nd comforted"; not to be frightened by "an 'angry' God."[57] Privilege in a church she deemed undemocratic. She wished that '*nobody* could own a velvet cushioned pew," and that "the doors f all churches were open to every man or woman, in whatsoever garb they might chance to wear in passing."[58] The Sabbath of the

[53] *Ibid.*, 135.
[52] *Folly as It Flies*, 88, 89.
[54] *Ibid.*, 89.
[55] *Ibid.*, 89.
[56] *New York Ledger*, Jan. 8, 1859; *Ginger Snaps*, 130.
[57] *Ginger Snaps*, 216.
[58] *Folly as It Flies*, 91.

mid-century was grim for children. Fanny argued against the strict customs, pleading for a children's church and sermon and greater freedom of action on that day.[59]

Her interest in social problems was emotional and romantic. Often sorrowing over the tribulations of the poor, she never troubled her head over the causes of their pitiful lives, nor did she offer any suggestions for improvement. Without question she accepted the Lady Bountiful attitude toward the less fortunate. When the farmers in the West took neglected orphans of the East as workers, she rejoiced that "these sickly shoots of poverty" are transplanted "into the fair gardens of the West"[60] where they will be taught useful and happy labor. She overlooked the probable exploitation involved. After visiting a Newsboys' Lodging she described, with tears weeping from her pen, the lives of the neglected children, and although she thought something should be done to save them, she initiated no movement to that end. Likewise her concern for the unhappy inmates of a prison reached no further than her inkpot. She frequently chided women about their treatment of servants, but withheld any criticism of employers who allowed thousands of women to work under wretched conditions. Describing the "care worn working girl," the operatives in a hoop factory, the poor seamstresses, the "wan shop girls," she muses which is the more miserable, the fashionable woman who has everything but a happy home or the tired working girl who asks, "*Is this all life has for me?*"[61] While Fanny approved of the New York Working Women's Association, organized to help these friendless girls, her interest seemed to be confined to the printed word.

Nor did other causes appeal to her. Though she fumed against the use of tobacco, her loathing assumed no more direct form. She scolded about women's fashions but confessed she lacked the courage to introduce the changes she suggested.[62] She did, how-

[59] Hart, *Female Prose Writers*, 482; *Ginger Snaps*, 34–36.
[60] *Folly as It Flies*, 128.
[61] *Ibid.*, 219.
[62] *Caper-Sauce*, 62.

ver, help to organize Sorosis in New York, one of the earliest women's clubs in America. Culture as such did not often engage her attention. Opera did not attract her. "Some people study books of opera," she wrote, "to find out what all the deafening racket is about," but she believed, "If the music is good for anything, I take it, it will tell its own story." [63] She was silent about the stage and seldom mentions books, although she told her audience, "I can't read Shakespeare . . . he has said some things, I know, *but not one that is not better said in a book that will live* long after he is forgotten." [64] "As for pictures. Am I to be squelched by technicalities? Don't I know what pleases me and am I going to talk idealic, pre-Raphaelite prattle after that point is settled?" [65] The Civil War seldom intruded into her columns. However, when it did, it was often treated with offensive provincialarity.

The question of equal rights was a ticklish one in the fifties and sixties. The famous Woman's Rights Convention of 1848 inspired many women to start on their long trek toward suffrage. Every year thereafter groups of feminists met in cities and towns to discuss the issue. Newspapers usually ridiculed those who attended, and though the magazines treated the subject with respect, the women's journals generally were opposed. Females on public platforms were damned before opening their mouths. Many prominent women who worked unceasingly for better light for political rights. Their arguments buttressed the sheltered education and wider opportunities for their sex were unwilling to wives and daughters who balked at the idea of voting. Many feminine writers strove hard to disassociate themselves from their unladylike belligerent sisters. Cozy and secure within their homes, the majority of housewives accepted without much thought the prevailing ideas about those who demanded rights which they did not think essential.

[63] *New York Ledger*, Nov. 13, 1858.
[64] *Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1861.
[65] *Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1861.

Fanny was often asked where she stood on this question. At first she considered female rights "debateable," suggesting that it was "better policy to play possum, and wear the mask of submission. No use in rousing any *unnecessary* antagonism. . . . I shall reach the goal just as quick in my velvet shoes, as if I tramped on rough-shod as they do with their *Woman's Rights Convention brogans*."[66] She too shied at the ways of the female reformers, advising women to make their "reins of silk, *keep 'em out of sight, and drive where you like*."[67] However, as time went on, she found herself heartily agreeing with what they advocated. Knowing her audience well, she assured it that she belonged to "no Woman's Rights Convention, if that be a crime in your eyes,"[68] but she continued to support its views. As the years passed and she grew more impatient with the opposition, she began to state her opinions in no uncertain terms, declaring, "I hold up both hands for a woman's ballot box," and questioned whether it was any worse for a woman to go to a voting booth than "into business streets, to wholesale stores, in quest of a good bargain."[69] When Lucy Stone was attacked, she came to her defense: "I have read and do endorse her publicly expressed views on women voting and rejoice that such men as Brady, Curtis and Chapin and others are standing manfully by her side on this vexed question."[70]

Bonner and his star columnist did not see eye to eye on this subject. Editorially he attacked the idea and invited his feminine readers to tell him whether they really wanted to vote.[71] Fanny, however, continued her own campaign, laughing at the arguments used by the antis. As the suffrage battle increased in fury, she threw aside her silken reins for stronger ones as she galloped along, clearing the road of the obstacles placed there by antago-

[66] *Life and Beauties of Fanny Fern*, 138.
[67] *Ibid.*, 276.
[68] *Folly as It Flies*, 118.
[69] *New York Ledger*, May 29, 1858.
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] *Ibid.*, July 21, 1860.

ists. She riddled the statements they made, saying they were 'humbug, as the men themselves very well know. We are always dear delicate fragile creatures,' who should be gagged with this ugar plum whenever we talk about that of which it is to their nterest to keep us ignorant."[72] She assured her followers that "the sugar plum game" was about played out and that it was only question of time before women obtained the vote.[73] As the opposition became more aggressive, she finally came out with a tatement which left no doubt as to where she stood:

Do I believe that women should vote? I am heart and soul with the women-speakers and lecturers, and workers in public and private, who re trying to bring this about. I have heard and read all the pros and cons on this subject; and I have never yet heard, or read, any argument in its *lis*favor which is worth considering. . . . Everything must have a beginning, and no noble enterprise was ever yet undertaken that did not find ts objectors and assailants. That is to be expected. These women-pioneers are prepared for this. It is not pleasant, to be sure, to see those men in their audiences, who should give them hearty, manly support, making flippant, foolish, shallow remarks. . . . And when I hear a woman making fun of this subject, or languidly declaring that, for her part, she wouldn't give a fig to vote, and she is only glad to be rid of the whole bothering thing, I feel only pity, that in the glorious year of our Lord, 1869, she would still prefer going back to the dark ages. . . . She may never see or think of those other women, who may be lifted out of their wretched condition, of low wages and starvation, by this very lever of power.[74]

She argued for equal pay for equal work. "Why, in the name of justice, should a man for the same labor receive more reward than a woman?"[75] she asked. However, she was not always consistent in her views. While she approved of women entering the medical profession, she herself considered that "a hat was a pleasanter object of contemplation in a sick room than a bonnet."[76] Moreover, she believed that wives would not want a

[72] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1860.
[73] *Folly as It Flies*, 67.
[74] *Ibid.*, 65–66.
[75] *New York Ledger*, Dec. 4, 1858.
[76] *Fresh Leaves*, 111; *New York Ledger*, Oct. 17, 1857.

petticoated physician to administer to the ills of their husbands and that such practitioners would take more interest in their male patients than in their wives.[77]

It was on May 10, 1856, however, that her most noteworthy column appeared as far as literary history is concerned. On that day she reviewed Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*.[78] The strangeness of his verse and his frank references to sex had not only repelled many people, but also aroused vicious attacks upon the author. James Parton himself was not as enthusiastic about Whitman as his wife was.[79] The review was long and fearless in its praise. She castigated the Whitman critics, "who would shroud the eyes of the nursing babe lest it should see its mother's breast," and suggested they look into "the papers dropped weekly at their door" and the "books backed by high sounding names" lying on their tables "where the asp of sensuality lies coiled amid rhetorical flowers." She reminded her readers that "the artist who would inflame paints you not nude Nature, but stealing Virtue's veil, with artful artlessness now conceals, now exposes, the ripe and swelling proportions." She acclaimed Whitman's "strong, honest thoughts in the face of pusillanimous, toadying, republican aristocracy." She closed her comments with words of Whitman which she knew would fall pleasantly upon the ears of her women readers:

> The wife—and she is not one jot less than the husband,
> The daughter—and she is just as good as the son,
> The mother—and she is every bit as much as the father.

It is difficult to unravel the relation between Whitman and the Partons. One year after Fanny's enthusiastic remarks, Whitman wrote scathingly of her in the *Brooklyn Daily Times* of July 9, 1857. Commenting on the subject of higher education for women, he said, "The majority of people do not want their

[77] Parton, *Fanny Fern*, 408–409; *New York Ledger*, Oct. 17, 1857.
[78] Emory Holloway and Ralph Adimari, eds., *New York Dissected* (New York: 1936), 5–45.
[79] Conversation with Ethel Parton.

ıughters to be trained to become authoresses and poets; but ıly that they may receive sufficient education to serve as the ısis of lifelong improvement and self cultivation, and which will ıalify them to become good and intelligent wives and mothers. . . We want a race of men and women turned out from our hools, not of pedants and blue stockings. One genuine woman worth a dozen Fanny Ferns. . . ."[80] Probably the motivation for ıe attack was the unpleasant situation in which Whitman found imself as a debtor to James Parton. He had borrowed money hich he found difficult to return. Although he eventually re-aid most of it, the atmosphere surrounding the transaction must ave been painful for all concerned. Whitman, blaming Fanny or the bitterness, wrote, "there were other elements in the ory—venom, jealousies, opacities: they played a big part: and, I may say it, women: a woman certainly—maybe women: they ept alive what I felt James Parton would have let die, left ead."[81] It has been suggested that Fanny's ardor for *Leaves of Grass* may have been inspired by Whitman's physical attraction or her. This is quite possible. However, the genuine and earthy uality of his verse certainly appealed strongly to her. Legend as held that the title and binding of *Fern Leaves from Fanny's ortfolio* were the model for *Leaves of Grass*. Since at least six ooks published before 1855 carried the word "leaves" in their tles, it is probable that this similarity to Fanny's volume was nly a coincidence.

Her attitude toward Boston was amusing. She had grown up ıere and her roots were very deep, but it was New York, her dopted home, which had recognized her ability and given her ame and riches. While appreciating the virtues of Bostonians, ıe laughed at their ways. With smiling malice she described the emale of the species as "prim as a bolster, as stiff as a ramrod,

[80] E. Holloway and V. Schwartz, eds., *I Sit and Look Out*, Editorials from the *rooklyn Daily Times* by Walt Whitman (New York: 1932), 53–54.

[81] Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (New York: 1914), III: 5–236.

as frigid as an icicle, and not even matrimony with a New Yorker can thaw her," while her mate was "conservative as a citizen, prosaic as a lover; humdrum as a husband."[82] Yet all her patronizing could never quite conceal her devotion.

Despite the fact that the literati ignored her, her name always figured among the outstanding women of her day, and the best magazines reviewed her books. On the other hand, the memoirs of her literary contemporaries seldom mention her. Though she summered in Newport for some years, Julia Ward Howe in her *Reminiscences* simply recalls that she was one of a company.[83] Grace Greenwood in an account of Fanny's life written for *Eminent Women of the Age* remarks that she had "never been so fortunate as to cross orbits with my brilliant but somewhat erratic subject."[84] Nathaniel P. Willis ignored her in his social comments. She had few friendships with other women writers and belonged to no social coterie. Her husband, on the contrary, had a wide circle of friends whom he enjoyed. While shunning publicity for herself, however, she sought it for Fanny Fern.

Her death, in 1872, brought to an end a pleasant and lucrative association of sixteen years with the *New York Ledger*. Her column, never late and never altered, expressed the confidence and respect existing between the editor and his star contributor. In her obituary Bonner attributed her success to her "common-sense, cheerfulness, wit and sincerity."[85]

The interest in Fanny Fern today lies in the fact that thousands of women once hung on her words. The tide in the fifties and sixties was commencing to turn in favor of the sex. Although the change was imperceptible, the writings of Fanny Fern provide one evidence that it was taking place. Amid all her trivial chatter she encouraged women to think for themselves, to be

[82] *Fresh Leaves*, 101, 103. For her further sentiments, see Elizabeth Bancroft Schlesinger, "Proper Bostonians as Seen by Fanny Fern," *New England Quarterly*, XXVII (1954), 97–102.

[83] Julia W. Howe, *Reminiscences* (Cambridge: 1899), 404.

[84] Parton and others, *Eminent Women of the Age*, 74.

[85] *New York Ledger*, Nov. 9, 1872.

ore self-reliant and to seek wider fields of endeavor. By poking
un at the august male she revealed tiny cracks in the pedestal
iat supported his pretensions. In the end she championed
omen's suffrage, bringing it to the attention of many house-
ives who would have spurned the thought from any other
ource. Though no militant reformer, she expressed revolution-
y ideas on children's rights that would be accepted by parents
the next century. She criticized conventional religion, trying
bring it from the skies down to earth. Her review of *Leaves of*
rass challenged the prudish Victorian concept of sex and gave
er a secure place in literary history as the first woman to express
ublicly her appreciation of the genius of Whitman. Her im-
udent style, carrying smiles as well as gibes, often revealed be-
eath its superficial brightness a wise and liberal spirit. Who can
y that this woman columnist did not contribute as much to
ne advance of her sex in this country as did the more celebrated
aders of the equal-rights movement?

FANNY FERN (1811–1872)
Grata Payson Willis Parton
Photo by Gurney at
The New-York Historical Society

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Guide to Genealogical and Biographical Sources for New York City (Manhattan) 1783–1898. By Rosalie Fellows Bailey, A.B., F.A.S.G. Introduction by John Ross Delafield, LL.B., D.S.M. (Published by the Author, 60 E. 80th Street, New York 21, N. Y., 1954. iv + 96 pages, index. $4.50.)

At last an able and experienced scholar has blazed a trail for genealogical and biographical research in what General Delafield, who knows the problem both as a lawyer and as a distinguished genealogist, calls "the most difficult and most important period of the past of the people of New York City." The Colonial and Revolutionary sources have long been under scholarly control and in good part published. The more recent records are relatively systematic, accessible, and full. It was "the in-between period" which caused the trouble and which Miss Bailey's vast labors will make so much less troublesome. Her learning is impressive and sure. Her book is slight in no sense other than the number of its pages, for its informational specific gravity is very high.

The author asserts that "this is a Guide rather than a Bibliography"—that the hundreds upon hundreds of sources listed, described, located, and classified are illustrative rather than exhaustive. Inevitably this is true, but the potential buyer of this book, however knowledgeable he may be in the field to which it is addressed, should not suppose that its bibliographical riches consist only of scattered nuggets from previously well-worked mines. On the contrary, any one of the experts for whom this guide was statedly designed—whether librarian, lawyer, historian, biographer, or genealogist—will find guidance to whole classes of material he might otherwise have overlooked and in many instances to a painstaking assemblage of the specific sources which comprise the class. Despite her modest disavowal of the title "bibliographer," the author betrays an earnest effort to make her compilation as complete as possible, for her "Supplement 1855–1898 with Addenda 1783–1855" contains many minute items (such as Dr. Alexander Anderson's List of Patients under Medical Care for the Epidemical Yellow Fever, in Belle Vue Hospital, 1795) which came to light after the main portion of the work was set in type. Merely as bibliography, this book is worth its price.

As the author surmises, however, the main value of her work is as a guide. She has therefore arranged "the source material . . . in the likely order of research" under the following headings: (1) probate and related records, (2) death notices, (3) death records, (4) printed deed indexes, (5) marriage notices, (6) birth, marriage, and divorce records, (7) birth, marriage, and death indexes, (8) means of identifying the church of an officiating minister, (9) directories, (10) occupational name lists and biographical sketches, (11) other name lists: education, membership,

ealth, etc., (12) secondary and other sources, (13) origin of non-native ew Yorkers, (14) passenger lists and naturalization, (15) State and deral census records, (16) maps, street and land records, (17) burial cords and cemeteries, (18) military, naval, marine and related records, 9) special records and archives: courts, City civil appointments and lministration, State civil appointments and laws, federal records, name anges and adoptions, apprentices and the poor, newspapers, photo-aphs, account books, minutes, family papers, etc., (20) church records, 1) voting, and (22) removals from New York City.

Each of the above bibliographical sections carries a scholarly intro-uction which orients the reader among the sources listed and explains eir origins and uses. These sectional essays are in themselves importantly ontributive, for their author brings to them, as General Delafield ob-rves, "high intellectual ability and training, together with unusual nergy and perseverance," so that the result is, in each case, a penetrating alysis "of unusual excellence." In short, Miss Bailey's is *the* indis-ensible guide to its subject matter. But it is not an easy guide for casual onsultation in a reference library. Into its hundred pages is crammed alf a lifetime of specialized experience and learning. It demands study nd it merits study. Any worker in the fields to which it applies will do mself a great disservice not to keep a copy at hand on his own working ookshelf or in his briefcase.

The New-York Historical Society CHARLES E. BAKER

he Olive Branch Petition of the American Congress to George III, 1775, and Letters of the American Envoys, August-September 1775. By CORNELIUS W. WICKERSHAM and GILBERT H. MONTAGUE. (New York: The New York Public Library, 1954. 43 pages, facsimiles. $6.50.)

"One of the New York Public Library's greatest treasures" is the aluation accorded the "Olive Branch Petition" of 1775, an historical ocument which is reproduced in facsimile in this fine publication. One f two original copies (the other is in the Public Record Office in ondon), this priceless document was presented to the Library by the te Lucius Wilmerding, a Trustee of the Library and of The New-York istorical Society, shortly before his death in 1949. The volume includes, addition to the facsimile of the Petition itself, two essays on its signifi-nce by two New York lawyers, Lieutenant General Cornelius W. Vickersham and Mr. Gilbert H. Montague, the former expressing the iew that the Petition was a genuine offer of conciliation, the latter that was a shrewd political gamble intended to pacify the conciliation party ithout impeding the plans of the independence party in Congress. Its eception is recorded in three letters written by the American agents in ngland, also reproduced in facsimile. The book is on sale at the Inquiry esk of the 42d Street Library.

D. H. W.

Villains Galore. By MARY NOEL. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1954. viii + 320 pages, illus., index. $5.00.)

With her first book Dr. Mary Noel has made both an amusing and a scholarly contribution to the field of Americana. *Villains Galore* is a history of low-priced weeklies which in the 1840's developed "out of the mild semi-literary family newspapers" of the previous decade. Some of these weeklies, such as Robert Bonner's *New York Ledger*, realized large profits and made the writing of fiction big business. Most, however, were short-lived, for competition was keen and ethics unknown. Occasional lawsuits notwithstanding, the pirating of stories was common practice, even on an international level. "Godey's Philadelphia Saturday News and Literary Gazette made not the slightest pretence of securing original matter. The paper advertised that it republished the whole contents of the London and New Monthly Magazines, as well as serials of Marryat and Dickens." The London papers, however, were of limited use for this purpose, since many also pirated their material—from American sources!

Continuing her history to the end of the century, Dr. Noel discusses all aspects of the story papers: publishers, writers, promotion schemes, plot construction (inevitably a conflict between "sunshine and shadow"), the reading public, and the conditions which fostered the growth of the weeklies. Her treatment of plot construction is highly entertaining; her analysis of publisher-reader rapport, penetrating. The samples of fiction which Dr. Noel supplies force her readers to agree with her that popular taste, however bad it may still be, has improved. She treats her whole subject with insight and humor and her enjoyment of it is contagious.

Dr. Noel evaluates these oldtime story papers as "the most important single factor in building up a mass market for general reading matter, exclusive of news. . . . And the story papers left behind them not only a public used to buying light reading matter at newsstands—they left many of the newsstands themselves." But of the hundreds of weeklies which mushroomed during the last century, only *The Saturday Evening Post* survives.

The New-York Historical Society MARY E. CAHN

American Firearms Makers; When, Where, and What They Made from the Colonial Period to the End of the Nineteenth Century. By ARTHUR MERVYN CAREY. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1953. xiii + 146 pages, illus., biblio. $5.00.)

The most complete and scholarly biographical directory of the makers of long and short arms in the United States before 1900, Mr. Carey's admirable work includes over 2000 entries giving names, places and dates of activity, and types of arms made. More detailed information is given on the more important firearms-makers.

Know A City. By KATHERINE B. SHIPPEN. Illustrated by ROBIN KING. (New York: The Viking Press, 1954. 192 pages, illus., index. $2.75.)

This is a children's history of New York City. Its author, believing that y historian of a city "must be content to sample," has selected her own amplings" with discernment and organized them with artistry to trace oth the physical and cultural development of our metropolis. From utch schoolrooms to the busy commerce of the modern port, Miss hippen presents her researches simply and clearly, discussing the inter- ting phases of New York's life and history. Particularly nice is her de- ription of the building of Brooklyn Bridge. The age level to which this ook appeals is uncertain. In the latter part of her book, Miss Shippen nploys a vocabulary beyond the understanding of very young readers. et the simplicity with which she begins her narrative would be of little terest to teen-agers. There are, too, occasional stereotyped ideas. These fects are regrettable as they detract from an otherwise worthwhile ook for children.

The New-York Historical Society MARY E. CAHN

he Jewish Community in Rochester 1843–1925. By STUART E. ROSEN- BERG. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. xv + 325 pages, biblio., index. $4.50.)

A scholarly study of the Jewish adjustments and contributions to the cial and economic life of Rochester, N. Y., and particularly of the role Rochester Jewry in transforming the city from a flour-mill town to a nter of the clothing industry. The author is Rabbi of Temple Beth El, ochester.

he First Ladies in Fashion. By RANDLE BOND TRUETT, with fashion notes by PHILIP ROBERTSON. (New York: Hastings House, 1954. 80 pages, illus. $3.00.)

Photographs of dresses worn by official White House hostesses from lartha Washington to Mamie Eisenhower, on exhibition at the Smith- nian Institution in Washington, D.C. The text gives brief biographical tetches of the First Ladies and detailed fashion notes on the costumes ctured.

onfessions of a Grand Hotel: The Waldorf-Astoria. By Horace Sutton. (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1953. xiii + 238 pages, illus. $3.95.)

An informal, anecdotal history of the Waldorf-Astoria, from the grand pening of the old Waldorf in 1893 to the 1951 state visit of the French resident. The staff and internal operations of the hotel share the spotlight ith famous guests.

Hay-Foot, Straw-Foot. Written and illustrated by Erick Berry. (New York: The Viking Press, 1954. 95 pages, illus. $2.50.)

An imaginative tale of army life during the French and Indian War, centering on old Fort Crailo, near Albany, N. Y. For ages ten to fourteen.

The Recapture of Guam. By Major O. R. Lodge, USMC. (Washington, D.C.: Historical Branch, U.S. Marine Corps, 1954. vii + 214 pages, illus., maps, biblio., index, appendices. $4.25.)

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

THE SOCIETY'S Sesqui-Centennial celebration will be climaxed on November 19th—the day preceding our 150th birthday—at a special gala meeting for members and guests. To keynote the occasion President Fenwick Beekman will review the history and accomplishments of the Society and will then introduce the principal speaker of the evening—Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University—whose address, we can promise you, will be one to remember as well as to enjoy. As if this were not enough, an extra pleasant surprise remains in store for those who are fortunate enough to attend.

On the same day, the Society will publish *Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of The New-York Historical Society 1804–1954*, by R. W. G. Vail, Director of the Society. Readers of this *Quarterly*, who have already enjoyed a pre-taste of several chapters from this work, should therefore be well prepared to relish the excellent fare its pages will spread before them.

The New-York Historical Society Sesqui-Centennial Exhibition of pictorial and documentary material illustrating the history of the Society will continue on view throughout the remainder of the year, as will the special showing of Portraits of the Society's Presidents. And from October 6th to December 31st, a selective exhibition of the many treasures which the Society has acquired during its hundred and fifty years will reveal to the public a sampling of our historical riches.

The fall program for members and guests will open on the evening of October 5th with an illustrated lecture by Richard J. Koke, Curator of the Museum, on the important archaeological discoveries of our former Field Exploration Committee and with a preview of the exciting "Treasures of the Society" exhibit; and it will close, pleasantly, with our traditional St. Nicholas Day festivities on December 6th.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

OIL PAINTING, "The Charging of the Battery" by Gilbert Gall (1855–1919). *Gift of Mr. Donald Anderson.*

Two Spanish-American War flags. *Gift of the Association of Ex-Members of Squadron A.*

Seventeen children's books; Lintz Family Bible records; photograph of guests at Tuller Cottage, Richfield Springs; recipe book of Maria (Sneckner) Lintz (1817–1889); two autograph albums of Edna Lintz Bagg (1883–1917); and other family papers. *Gift of Miss Edith Adele Bagg, in memory of her sister, Edna Lintz Bagg.*

Oil painting, "For King and Country" by Frederick C. Young; collection of glass and stoneware bottles. *Gift of Mrs. Oscar T. Barck.*

Oil portrait of Gerardus Beekman (1653–1723) by Eleanor W. Kotz, 1932; oil portrait of James William Beekman (1815–1877) by William M. Shettle, 1901; watercolor of "Mount Pleasant," First Avenue and 51st Street home of the Hon. James Beekman (1732–1807). *Gift of the Beekman Family Association.*

Book of Sketches by Anna Richards Brewster, published in her memory by William Tenney Brewster (1954). *Gift of William Tenney Brewster.*

Letter written by Minnie Weiss, July 15, 1904, telling of the experiences of her family and herself on the burning steamer "General Slocum." *Gift of Miss Florence E. Bruning and Miss Emma A. Bruning.*

Three photographs of the interior of the residence of Thomas Tileston, great-grandfather of the donor, at 2 East 14th Street, southeast corner of Fifth Avenue. *Gift of Mrs. Ronald Eliot Curtis.*

Broadside, Speech of George Washington upon his inauguration as President in New York, on April 30, 1789. *Gift of Mr. Harry G. Friedman.*

Porcelain cup and saucer, #19 of a set which belonged to General Ebenezer Stevens (1751–1823), ancestor of the donor. *Gift of Mrs. Charles M. Gay.*

Nineteen photographs of trolley cars. *Gift of Mr. William T. Lauth.*

Sixty-two volumes, 290 periodicals, 17 newspapers, 18 posters, 69 broadsides, 4 maps, 164 picture postcards. *Gift of Dr. Thomas Ollive Mabbott.*

Artificial leg which was worn by Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816), great-grandfather of the donor. *Gift of Mrs. Frederick Menzies.*

The (Newark, N. J.) *Centinel of Freedom*, September 16, 1817–September 7, 1819. *Gift of Mr. Harry Shaw Newman.*

Four hundred and forty-eight photographs of steamships and of the New Jersey Central Railroad. *Gift of Mr. Joseph O. Osgood.*

Collection of books, pamphlets, periodicals, diplomas, photographs, relating to Packard Junior College (founded in 1858 by Silas S. Packard); manuals of phonography, typewriting and penmanship, and other books relating to business education; oil portrait of Silas Sadler Packard (1826–1898) by A. J. Conant; bronze bust of the same by J. Q. A. Ward, 1890; painting of the French Line Steamship "La Champagne" by Edward Odom, 1891. *Gift of the Trustees of Packard Junior College, Paul S. Lomax, Chairman, Louis Albert Rice, President.*

One thousand auction catalogues of the American Art Association, the Anderson Galleries, the American Art Association-Anderson Galleries, and the Parke-Bernet Galleries. *Gift of the Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc.*

Manuscripts of the Ely family, principally correspondence of Justin Ely, Heman Ely, and Theodore Ely, first half of the 19th century; letters to Mary Ann Griswold, 1768–1810; letters of Mary Ann Griswold Ely, 1816–1829; papers relating to salvage operations of the British frigate *Huzzar* in the East River, 1812–1818; household account and personal papers, 1815–1832. *Gift of Mrs. John W. Parrish.*

Seven photographs of Frank Albert Bicknell and of his New York City studio; photograph of painting by him; sketch by him, 1885, of A. H. Bicknell's studio; Bicknell coat of arms. *Gift of Dr. George G. Raddin, Jr.*

Forty family photographs; 129 photographs of prominent individuals; 26 photographs and prints of homes and churches. *Gift of Mrs. Edward Rutledge.*

Six letters written by Mary Hedges Hubbard (1837–1934) while visiting her uncle, former Governor Joel A. Matteson, in Illinois in 1859, with his letter inviting her to Illinois. *Gift of Mrs. Medad E. Stone, daughter of Mrs. Ellen Sterling (Hubbard) Bones.*

Silk handkerchief of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, 1904. *Gift of Mrs. John B. Walker.*

Fourteen cut glass decanters which belonged to the donor's great-grandfather, Morris Ketchum (1769–1880). *Gift of Mrs. Francis P. Webb.*

Bronze medallion of Eugene Field (1830–1895). *Gift of Mr. Edward C. Zabriskie.*

Four boxes of book-binding tools; marble bust of George Washington by Hiram Powers; bronze bust of Abraham Lincoln by Gutzon Borglum, 1912. *Gift of the Estate of George A. Zabriskie.*

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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